HERODOTUS

". . but the Kelts are beyond the Pillars of Hercules . ."

Antique Bust, Rome. (From the Hundred Greatest Men)

FALSE FOUNDATIONS OF BRITISH HISTORY

A New Study of
British Origins

By the late

Hon. James Mackinnon Fowler

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

If writers had not been so traditionally human through he centuries, history could have been almost a science, for we may broadly define science as the search for truth. But in searching for truth there is no room for the twin evils of prejudice and pride. To keep out these evils from the performance of his task demands much from a mere mortal, but just so far as he succeeds, so much more the scientist and so much less the dissembler does he become. War and religion, each with their long record of ebb and ow, of move and counter-move, provide the chronicler with his main stuff. War and religion - pride and prejudice - _ who can doubt the respective links?

To make a lifelong study of the maze that is British history is a task which but few of us would seek. Many refer to take recorded history as they find it. But first hey must find it, and will need help in finding it. This book is the outcome of an effort to give just such help. The glorious conclusions reached should be welcome to all of our race, and I firmly believe that they are none the less partial through being welcome.

James Mackinnon Fowler might have embellished this story with a greater wealth of romantic appeal, for he gave it shape in his last years fighting cruel pain and blindness and during days when his kin were being once more tested in the fiercest fire the Islands had yet seen. But that side I the story he left to others.

In presenting his work I, his son, must acknowledge lm debt to that helper of a thousand lame dogs over a thousand stiles - Percy Grainger.

R. H. Fowler.
Melbourne, 1943.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

The purport of this book is to demonstrate that what are usually regarded as the foundations of British History, overlie and obscure the true basis of the nation.

The orthodox conception in this respect is embodied in two propositions, namely, that at the advent of the Romans the population of the British Isles together with its language was Celtic, and, that soon after the Romans left Teutonic invaders from overseas exterminated the natives and established their own race, language and institutions.

It is admitted by many commentators that this conception abounds with difficulties, contradictions and baffling problems, to an extent which suggests that something Is radically wrong with it. Desirous of finding, if possible, the reason for this unsatisfactory state of affairs, the author entered upon researches which led into a wide field of investigation embracing archaeology, ethnology and philology, as well as the available sources of British history.

As a result, conclusions have been reached which, though they may appear surprising at first glance, will be supported in the following pages by what is claimed to be sufficient and satisfactory evidence.

These conclusions are, firstly that neither a Celtic population nor Celtic forms of speech ever existed in the British Isles, and secondly that the so-called Anglo-Saxon invasion and conquest of England never happened.

The idea that the British Isles were in every respect Celtic is quite modern, and arose from a crude and elemental philology now largely discredited.

The Anglo-Saxon conquest was invented as the only way of accounting for the supposed disappearance of the Celtic population of Roman England. It was on this imaginary conquest that Max Muller, Freeman, and others based their teaching that the English are a fifth century offshoot from the Germanic race of the Continent. The roots of the English people are in far deeper soil and wholly English soil at that. They are Nordic, and not German.

The fanatical and mentally unbalanced Welsh priest Gildas, the earliest of our British chroniclers, is primarily responsible for having given a wrong start to the post-Roman history of England. Writing in the sixth century, he enlarges an attack by the English of his day on the Welsh race into an overwhelming of the whole of England by

invaders from the other side of the North Sea. But he goes on to state that the natives ultimately achieved victory and re-established themselves - an important point which strangely enough has been overlooked. Bede, writing his Ecclesiastical History two hundred years later, and with no other source of information than Gildas available for the period following the departure of the Romans, misread and misunderstood the ravings of the Welshman, as they have been misread and misunderstood ever since to the utter confusion and distortion of British history.

I have endeavoured in these studies first to expose the fallacies and pretensions of Celticism, and then from the accumulation of fable, which is still receiving attention, to disentangle the true and pre-eminently rational story of the antiquity and descent to the present day of the Nordic people of Britain. This solution is free from the difficulties of the orthodox theory - a feature which goes some way towards establishing its correctness. The positive proofs are neither few nor difficult to discover. That English historians have failed to note them and realize their significance is an outstanding mystery in the present writer's case. In the writing of this book, refinements of style have been eschewed in favour of plain and direct expression.

Also, a certain amount of overlapping and repetition could not be avoided in discussing the various phases of the subject.

I wish to acknowledge the willing and valuable assistance given me by -
the staff of the Melbourne Public Library, Victoria, Australia, the staff of the Library of the Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, and the staff of the Parliamentary Library of Victoria and also to put on record my indebtedness to many correspondents in Europe, who, in response to enquiries, have given useful information.

James Mackinnon Fowler.
Melbourne, Australia, 1940.

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PART I

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

CHAPTER 1.

WHO IS THIS CELT?

The Beginnings.

There has been a very imposing output of so-called Celtic literature during the last hundred years, but it is notable for the fact that it is mostly of an utterly un-critical and un-scientific nature, and the more the open-minded investigator tries to come to close quarters with The Celtic question the more unsubstantial and elusive it becomes. At a meeting of the Anthropological Society in Paris in 1864, Paul Broca, the eminent French authority, demanded to be told "who is this Celt?" The most bewildering and conflicting replies were given, and the challenge was not then nor has it since been definitely answered. Instead, flamboyant writing about the fine qualities of everything Celtic has continued unabated. A strain of Celtic blood is said to redeem the British temperament from the commonplace, and even the genius of Shakespeare is confidently claimed to be due to a Celtic element in his ancestry.

From Herodotus we first get the term Kelts. writes: "For the Ister, beginning from the Kelts and the city of Pyrene, divides Europe in its course, but the Kelts Are beyond the pillars of Hercules and border on the Territories of the Kynesians who lie in the extremity, of Europe to the westward." No one has ever been able, in modern times, to make head or tail of this sentence. It probably signifies that the "father of history" -and of much fable - had only the vaguest idea himself of what he was writing about. The Ister is supposed to be the Danube, and Herodotus appears to place his Kelts in Spain, while the "city of Pyrene" may be linked with the Pyrenean

Mountains. The latest authorities have grave doubts about the ancient people of the peninsula having been Celtic.
Caesar definitely names Celts as one of the three peoples of Gaul, and in view of this authoritative statement, when the study of anthropology and philology was seriously commenced in the eighteenth century the Celtic question centred largely in France. There were some difficulties in the way. The country had a name which was distinctly Teutonic, and while there were many words in French speech of Teutonic origin, very few could be proved to be Celtic. But in the north-west corner of France there was a community - the Bretons - which spoke a dialect entirely different from modern French, and it was soon suggested that this could be no other than a remaining fragment of the ancient speech of the country. Unfortunately for this assumption, it is now generally held that the Bretonese were a people who migrated from Wales and possibly also from Cornwall and Devon, during the Roman occupation of Britain. The older name of Brittany was Armorica, and it is quite understandable that the nickname of "little Britain" became attached to it, just as in a certain English town known to the writer, the settlement of a number of Irish in a particular locality gave it the name of "little Ireland." Similarly, a "little France" is to be found in Edinburgh, and other "little s and so's? are to be found to-day in many far-flung continents. But though Gregory of Tours, who originally made the statement regarding the Welsh migration to Armorica, was copied by several later writers, including Bede, the majority of French antiquaries have patriotically preferred to regard the Bretonese and their speech as indigenous.The French historian, Michelet, typically takes the attitude that Welsh and Bretonese speech are only related as having a similar origin.From this very doubtful standpoint the modern theory of Celticism proceeded on its course of development Bretonese being regarded as a form of Celtic speech, followed that Welsh was Celtic also. And Welsh being cognate with Irish, the latter came, likewise, into the Celtic category.
In 1853 a German scholar, J. C. Zeuss, published his"Grammatica Celtica," a work which was hailed as "placing Celtic philology on a scientific basis." It was a most industrious compilation, based on the idea universally held at the time, that all words found in Celtic speech were native to it, whereas it is now recognized that Irish and Welsh are both infused with a large proportion of Nordic.

words. The attempts of Zeuss to reduce the Celtic dialects to a formal synthesis of grammatical rules was a pedantic but unavoidably imperfect attempt to bring order out of chaos.

Working on a wider basis, another German philologist, Max Muller, apportioned to the Celtic group a position of much importance in what he called the Indo-European or Aryan family of languages. But the Aryan theory of this eminent scholar, urged with much brilliancy and persuasiveness, has not maintained its ground, and the term Aryan is now only used by those who fail to realize its unscientific nature.

A book which had probably more influence than any other in bringing about the adoption of the tenets of Celticism by English historians and antiquarians, was published in 1822 under the title "Origines Celticae."It comprised studies by Dr. Edwin Guest, edited after his death by two eminent scholars, W. Stubbs and C. Deedes. Dr. Guest was a person of remarkable classical erudition, acquainted with the most insignificant of the ancient Authors. This, and a somewhat pontifical air, not un-befitting the Master of Caius College, Cambridge, gave a weight to Dr. Guest's views from which his curiously conservative standpoint might well have seriously detracted. To him the Old Testament was an unimpeachable authority on anthropology. "Men of literary and scientific standing," he writes, "have started theories as to the antiquity of man which conflict not only with the views I have laid before the reader but also with the narrative contained in the first chapter of Genesis. I am one of those who believe that narrative to be simple history." He then proceeds to defend the scriptural story of the Creation against heretics like Lyall, who would put the beginnings of the human race much further back than the few thousand years given to it by Biblical chronology.

"The origin of the early Celts," Dr Guest observes, "is illustrated by a purer light. than can be furnished by legend or myths." From the Bible he gathers that Gomer was the patriarch of the Celtic race, in which was included a mong many others the family group of the Kimmeroi, the Cimbri, and the Cymry of Wales. The Ashkenazites occupying territory near Mount Ararat, were Celts, being the descendants of Ashkenaz, eldest son of Gomer.Dr. Guest finds Celts everywhere in the ancient world."Thedistrict that the Briges founded in the Troad," he writes, "was called Phrygia Minor, and it may have been this Celtic people that gave the Celtic name of Evenus to the river which runs into the Aegean north of the Caicus."

Speaking of the country adjacent to the river Halys in Cappadocia, Dr. Guest says, "it is generally considered to have been a Celtic district." Who besides the reverend gentleman himself, "generally considered" this, is not apparent.
"The Celts." we are told by Dr. Guest, "originally occupied Greece and Italy." He holds also, "the old opinion that the Celts were the earliest colonists of Europe."
The philological lucubrations of Dr. Guest help him very materially to his Celticist conclusions. The process is very simple. First of all, Celtic is assumed to be one of the primitive languages of the world. Then, if a word has within it a sound at all resembling what may be found in Welsh. Irish or Bretonese speech. that word is of Celtic origin.
Thus Acheron. river of the Greek underworld. Is derived by Dr. Guest from the Breton adjective akr, meaning hideous or frightful. Tartarus, the particular name of the Greek hell, has as its root the Irish tor signifying fear or dread. Applying this philological method to English place-names, Dr. Guest makes England, origin-ally, very. Celtic.
Dr. Guest's teachings with their strong Celticist implications have definitely coloured the views of English historians. Professor Lloyd, himself a Celticist, remarks, in his "History of Wales," that "the elaborate speculations of Dr. Guest, as contained in 'Origines Celticae' have been accepted to a surprising extent by Stubbs, Freeman, Green and other writers." This author adds that those speculations "rest on the flimsiest foundations" _ a statement which is verified by the fact that Dr. Guest is no longer quoted as an authority on the ethnology and philology of Britain, though his purely antiquarian articles can still be read with interest.
In addition to the outstanding contributions to the Celtic theory just mentioned, there was a very considerable output of books expounding and enlarging upon various phases of the subject - from archaeology, to mere sentiment. But there were also not a few critics who assailed Celticism at almost every stage of its development. Paul Broca, a French anthropologist of high standing, speaks somewhat cynically of the Celts as"a people who are found almost everywhere and can be fixed nowhere."
"What is a Celt?" asks W. C. Mackenzie, in "Races of Ireland and Scotland." That would appear to be a simple question to answer," he comments, "but I know of few more difficult;" he goes on to say that "the term Celt has no real anthropological significance, if, indeed, it ever had

In European ethnology." John Munro, in his "Story of the British Race" writes, "We are tempted to ask- -Who is this Celt? Can anybody put his hand on a specimen? The question would puzzle most of us, even those who write and talk so glibly of the Celt." A.H, Keane author of a "Handbook of the English Language" says that "the ward Celt has been applied to so many racial types as to have lost all ethnical significance." "As for the Celts," writes Eugene Pittard in his volume of the "History of Civilization" series, "they are, like Aryans, merely a conventional term for anthropologists." And Professor Elliot Smith, writing a scholarly and up-to-date work on "Human History" which deals with the races of the world, haver once mentions Celts.

Recognizing its weakness, the racial side of Celticism has been abandoned by such an authority as Professor Eoin MacNeill. In "Phases of Irish History" he writes, "A fact which I wish particularly to emphasize is that throughout its history, the term 'Celtic' bears a linguistic And not a racial significance." and again. "The term 'Celtic' is indicative of language, not of race."

But to abandon the racial part of the Celtic theory and emphasize the philological is only to give up an indefensible position for one that is certainly no stronger. Even less convincing than the racial arguments are the assumptions of Celtic philology. A very competent American scholar, Professor Dwight Whitney, in his enlightening book on "Language, and the Study of Language,'" pours scorn on this, the most pretentious of all the phases of Celticism. "There is no small difficulty," he writes, "in treating satisfactorily the documents which illustrate the history of the Celtic languages owing to the prevalence of a peculiar and strongly-marked disease well-known among philologists as 'Celtomania' which has been very apt to Attack students of the subject - especially such as were of Celtic extraction - but in some degree foreigners also, lending them wildly to exaggerate the antiquity and the Importance of the Celtic civilization, language and literature. We have Celtic set up as the most primitive and uncorrupted of tongues, spoken by generations long interior to the oldest worthies whom history, sacred or profane, recognizes, and furnishing the only sure foundation to universal etymology; we have had ancient inscriptions And difficult texts, of the most diverse origin and distant locality, explained out of Celtic into high-sounding phrases of true Ossianic ring; we have had the obscure words of various languages traced to Celtic roots, provided with

genealogies from an Irish or Welsh ancestor, and much more of the same sort."
Despite sarcasm and criticism, the Celtic theory, both as regards race and speech is still very widely accepted.
It is not so much a belief to-day as a sentiment which it were almost a pity to disturb. But it stands in the way of a truer and more reasonable conception of British history.

II The European Celt.

We are told that the Celts of Britain came originally from the mainland. But there are no satisfactory and conclusive evidences to be found of either a Celtic people or a Celtic speech on the continent of Europe - that is of a people or speech intimately associated with the so-called Celtic elements of the British Isles. It is too often taken for granted that the classical authors, when referring to Celts, had in mind a people quite apart in race and language from the Nordics of Germany and north-western Europe. The term as used by them had no specific meaning whether of race or speech - its significance must be sought in another direction.
The interminable arguments pursued during the nineteenth century regarding the origin and distribution of mankind are now recognized as having been based on altogether superficial conceptions. The discoveries made by the spade in recent years have put back the beginnings of humanity into a dim past which makes the oldest communities visualized by Max Muller and his contemporaries merely features of yesterday, while the widely-spread localities where the skulls of sub-human beings and of primitive man have been found give "the cradle of the human race" to no particular country or continent but to the world in general.
The once accepted Indo-European theory that Europe was populated by successive waves of humanity from Asia cannot be held since the caverns, the quarries, the denuded river-beds of the Western Continent have revealed the presence of human beings as native to the soil as the wild animals they, hunted.
The oldest types (some barely

human) passed away, to be succeeded in the most marvel-Inua fashion by a race - the Cro-Magnon - with a brain capacity equal to that of the average European skull of today. In appearance these people must have differed so little from the modern type that, it has been said, a Cro-Magnon man dressed in to-day's garments would attract no special attention in a London street. By what stages or in what ways Cro-Magnon man reached that degree of mental and physical development which has scarcely been added to since by his descendants, can only be guessed. But we can be certain that the brain he possessed came to him through a long ancestral exercise of it in thinking, And thinking hard, of the problem of the daily existence. Simultaneously with such thinking, speech developed, and the highly intellectual head of Cro-Magnon man emphatically testifies to his possession of a language commensurate with his brain power and the circumstances of his life. I make bold to say that many of the words common to Indo-European speech have come down to us from our far distant Cro-Magnon ancestors, being immeasurably older than the so-called Celtic, Sanskrit, or Teutonic roots which are only mere runners on the surface.

Fifty thousand years ago the Cro-Magnon race was in occupation of the greater part of Europe, and, as ice overwhelmed its northern regions Cro-Magnon man, accommodating his occupancy to the operations of Nature, retired southward until our modern geological era set in, when he returned to a habitable Scandinavia and to that part of the continent which later became the British Isles.

In the meantime climatic and other conditions were at work in creating variations of Cro-Magnon man. In accordance with accepted mechanism of evolution, in southern Europe he became slight and dark: northward the skin and hair blanched and under more strenuous conditions of life the frame grew larger and more robust.

Between the two - perhaps by a commingling of them - there arose in Central Europe the Alpines, intermediate in appearance, more robust than the Mediterranean or Iberian people, darker and shorter than the northern Nordics.

If we are to accept the statements of the classical writers, Celts belonged to all three types and were dispersed throughout the whole of Europe. Plutarch places them in the far north, “There are those who say that the Celtic country, from its depth and extent, stretches from the Outer Sea and the Arctic regions and reaches to the Pontiac Scythia.”

Ptolemy, compiling his famous geography in the first century of the Christian era goes back to Herodotus to

find his Celts and accordingly makes the Iberian Peninsula their home.
Polybius says, "There are large and populous com-munities of Celts in the north of Italy, near the River Po, on both sides of the Alps, and in the region of the Pyrenees. As late as the close of the second century A.D. we find Dio Cassius calling the Germans 'Keltoi.' And if the name Galatai is identical with Keltoi - a view which has considerable support - then the Celts of Europe are also to be regarded as represented in Asia Minor. The origin or meaning of the name Celt is beyond research But its loose and general application carries a suggestion that it embodies a vague tradition antedating all racial and speech distinctions, in other words the reference may go back even to pre-historic Cro-Magnon man. Caesar's two names for the same people, Celtae and Galli, and the Greek Keltoi and Galatai may all very easily come from the same root, and the wide and haphazard distribution of these various terms two thousand years ago seems to imply that the root must have been a very ancient one.
In none of these names or the references associated with them is any clue given to a well defined Celtic race or language. Even when we come to Caesar who fought and conquered the Celts of Gaul we are still left in the dark as to the differences in appearance or speech which distinguished these Celts from their non-Celtic neighbours.
And though Caesar tells us that their speech differed from that of the Belgi on the north and the Aquitani on the south there was also on the eastern side a people - the Germans - with whom, according to Strabo, they had many points of resemblance. Indeed, so far as language is concerned there is (outside France, where national pre judice stands in the way) a substantial weight of opinion which holds that the original language of Gaul was not Celtic, as the term is understood to-day, but Nordic. Ihr, one of the earlier German philologists, concluded as the result of his researches, that the speech of the Galli was a dialect of Gothic; a view which has been repeatedly endorsed since. Stubbs (a confirmed Celticist), in his "Lectures on Early English History," says, referring to the ancient language of Gaul, "Here and there a few words remain to puzzle archaeologists, some of which owe their preservation as Gallic words to the fact that they are not originally Gallic but German." book, "The Germans," J. M. Robertson, in his says that of the score or two of words accidentally preserved by the Romans as Gaulish, "nearly all seem traceable as readily to Teutonic as to Keltic forms." He goes on to observe that "the argument

based on one corrupt passage in Caesar concerning the language spoken by the German chief Ariovistus partly breaks down before the fact that, of the various readings, The one which alone makes the passage intelligible as a Whole is that which indicates no distinction between the Gaulish and the German speech."
Two of the demi-gods of ancient Gaul were Taranus and Teutates. Both names are distinctly non-Celtic. Brentano, a French authority, admits that Teutates, "the form, Taran is the same as Thor - the god of Thunder. Professor Rhys (in Hibbert Lectures, 1886) says, "I have been repeatedly. impressed by the striking similarity between the ancient theologies of the Celts and the Teutons," and he traces the names and the personages to Gothic sources. A common word is even more significant than names. In describing the social relations of the Gauls, Caesar uses the word "ambactos." This is a native term which stripped of its Latin suffix is ambacht, meaning liegeman or servant. The word has been claimed as Celtic. But as "ambeht" and "ombiht" it is found not only in old English but in Norse as a synonym for thrall, And at least in the latter case there can be no doubt about this word being in origin Nordic.
In Caesar's time there appears to have been no distinct line of separation between the Gauls and the Germans. There were German tribes west of the Rhine, and Gaulish on the German side. Caesar was able to secure, now German, now Gaulish assistance, but national antagonism had nothing to do with it; the distinctions that counted Were tribal. Gaul and Germany were foreign terms which meant very little to the natives. It would appear, there-fore, that neither by race nor speech can the Celts of Gaul and the Germans be dissociated from one another.
The Iberian Peninsula is frequently mentioned by classical writers as having been inhabited by Celts. The name was conveniently vague for those who applied it in their day but modern anthropology and philology deny that it was correctly given. The people of the peninsula are a very mixed race. Native Iberian has been blended with Cimbric and Vandal blood from northern Europe and with Moorish from Africa. As a Roman province intimately and completely controlled, and penetrated everywhere by Roman influences, the peninsula acquired, like France, A dialect of Latin. Only, in the mountainous region of the Pyrenees, the land of the Basques, was there a survival of the primitive Iberian people and their language. It was

once thought that some place-names of the peninsula and a few other words were Celtic but this opinion is no longer entertained. "It is quite certain," says Eugene Pittard, an authority of European repute, "that the human type christened Celtic by anthropologists did not play a part of any importance in the make-up of the Spanish nation. "The observation applies equally to Portugal.

Celticists at one time loudly claimed as Celtic the Cimbri who towards the close of the second century B.C. spread terror and devastation through Italy. The German scholar Mommsen in his "History of Rome" pretty well disposed of this idea, which except for the usual vague application of the term Celts by classical authors, had little else to sustain it, while the general agreement of these that the Cimbric Chersonese, now the Jutland peninsula, was the land from whence the barbarians came, hardly supports the view that they could have been Celts. Cimbri is in all probability the Latin rendering of Kimber - a warrior, in Nordic speech; Cempa in old English is a champion, and Kemp in Lowland Scottish means a fight.

In the search for Celtic evidences on the continent of Europe there remains, after vainly searching elsewhere, what appears to be a very fertile field - archaeology. Every European museum of antiquities displays numerous specimens of what is called Celtic art, varying from crude vessels of pottery to beautifully chased and enamelled objects in gold, silver and bronze. Why the classification as Celtic? There is no satisfactory reply. There is no distinctively Celtic art or craftsmanship. An exact parallel in design and detail of any article labelled Celtic can be produced from sources where the word Celtic never enters the picture. With the greatly increased archaeological knowledge acquired in recent years we can follow the proofs furnished in this way of the inter-relation of at least the material forms of culture over a remarkably wide area of time and of locality. Vessels, weapons, articles of personal adornment whether found in Egyptian tombs, the ruins of Knossos, the pits of Mycanae, at Pompeii, the cemeteries of Hallstadt, the grave-mounds of Scandinavia, have all so much in common that if presented in a heap to the savants they would be utterly at a loss to separate and classify them. The short leaf-shaped bronze sword, for instance, so often called Celtic, can be traced through almost all the ancient civilizations, Egyptian, Assyrian, Etrurian and Greek down to the comparatively recent bronze period of Ireland. There was far more intercourse throughout the ancient world than

Is commonly thought. The plodding caravans passing long well-frequented tracks indicated the normal state of affairs, only occasionally interrupted by the trampling armies of a Genghis Khan, an Alexander or a Caesar. Many a vase claimed as typical of Western Europe must have come from the workshops of Corinth or Byzantium. In Roman times, and perhaps even earlier, pedlars from the continent sold brooches and fibulae in England which, discovered in later times from graves and the foundations if prehistoric villages, have enabled enthusiasts to dilate in the beauty of the native Celtic art, and even by this means to distinguish the people of one petty state from another.

Ireland and Scandinavia, the former regarded as essentially. Celtic, while the latter is unquestionably Nordic, have not in their fabricated antiquities any differences that give them national or cultural distinctiveness. This is not to deny that there were variations in the designs of individual artists and degrees in the quality of craftsmanhip in the ancient world, and probably fashions which were started by less orthodox contemporaries to give the fillip of novelty to their creations may have prevailed for some time and over a considerable area. All that is contended for is that there were no distinctive cultural lnes across the ancient world which developed and progressed by contact and intercourse - the less advanced communities gathering ideas from the more enlightened. But nowhere on the Continent of Europe either in point I time or locality were any forms of art or manufacture volved that are entitled to be called Celtic. In this respect is in the matters of race and speech the Celtic position on he Continent remains entirely nebulous and unsatisfactory.

The subject has now to be followed across the Channel, id to get to immediate grips with it we must overleap he larger island and come down in Ireland- regarded as the present day Celtic country par excellence.

CHAPTER 2.
THE IRISH BACKGROUND.

I

Pretentious Irish History.

The teaching of the nineteenth century savants which placed Ireland in the front rank of Celtic peoples was accepted there with much enthusiasm. Ireland, writhing for centuries under the heel of an alien power, had already produced numerous writers who reflected the popular feeling by enlarging on the ancient civilization and culture of Erin, far exceeding anything that hated England could boast. Now that these features were, in effect, proclaimed Celtic and thus immeasurably older than, and entirely distinct from the comparatively recent introduction of Sassenach barbarism into the neighbouring island, a great fillip was given to the national pride of Ireland in her glorious past. Cold and critical investigation discounts in very large measure the perfervid claims of Irish patriotism, which, however, still adheres passionately to the highly-coloured fictions of the earlier school of native historians and their modern successors, despite the efforts of such Authorities as MacNeill and Macalister to place Irish history on a truer, if less flattering, historical basis.

It is generally held that a great mass of Irish literature belonging to the early Christian period has disappeared, and the loss is attributed to the destructiveness of the Norsemen, and, after them, the English.

The only authentic survival consists of the scanty writings of St. Patrick. The Life of St. Columba, by Adamnan, is usually regarded as a genuine biography produced before the close of the seventh century, but, as will be shown Inter, though it is probably based on original materials it bears internal evidence of having been re-written and Amplified at a much later date. Some imperfect copies of

the "Annals of Tighearnach," an eleventh century monk, are in existence, but as the records are carried down 300 years later than Tighearnach's death and there are many discrepancies in the manuscripts it would appear that the original has suffered at the hands of later generations of transcribers.
These Annals ; are notable by reason of the statement attributed to Tighearnach that all native "monumenta" prior to the reign of Cimbaeoth are "un-certain." O'Curry in his lectures on the "Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History" is inclined to regard this concession to the critical spirit as impugning quite needlessly a great deal of Ireland's boasted history. But as Cimbaeoth is alleged to have lived about 300 years before Christ, and probably long before the art of writing was known in Ireland, Tighearnach may fairly be regarded as having given a very conservative opinion as to Irish antiquities.
The "History of the War of the Gaedhill (native Irish) with the Gaill (Danes" is claimed to have been written immediately after the Battle of Clontarf in 1014. This is one of the most turgid productions in the world's literature. Epithet is piled on epithet until the effect intended to be heroic - becomes comic. In describing the battle the author speaks of the triple-plated armour of the Danes, though plate armour was not used in Western Europe until two centuries later. From other mediaeval details in this book it does not appear to be older than the fifteenth century. The editor, Dr. Todd, admits that in its present form the "History of the War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill" shows that many. liberties were taken with the text by transcribers; he recognizes both additions and excisions, but claims that the account was compiled from contemporary materials.
That is no more than a surmise unsupported by any evidence, and. con its present
The "Leibhar-na-h'Uidhre" - the Book of the Dun Cow -_ and the "Book of Leinster" are twelfth century manuscripts, in sadly imperfect condition. They are compilations or anthologies of what were probably older literary remains, crude and coarse fiction for the most part, over which modern translators have thrown a glamour of poetry and romance. Though interesting to the antiquarian, these manuscripts throw very little light on Irish history.
The "Historic Tales" constitute a voluminous section of Irish literature.

The authors are unknown and though some of the stories appear to embody ancient traditions, they are, for the most part, quite modern productions.

Ireland is proud of the title "Isle of Saints." There Is certainly no end to their number, though the existence of many of them is a matter of grave doubt. The mediaeval times in Ireland, as in other countries, produced a large crop of lives of saints. Some of the Irish saints are said to have had very miraculous powers.
St. Ciaran kindled stones with a puff of his breath.
He used to travel across the sea without ship or boat and lived 360 Years. St. Brendan after living for 300 years was seen to ascend in a chariot to heaven. But in their ignorance and enthusiasm the monks who wrote these lives some-limes made ridiculous mistakes. St. Dagan and St. Molach are no other than the Phoenician god Dagon and the Carthaginian Moloch, while St. Dichul has a name pronounced identically with Diul - the Irish word for the devil - both terms. having their origin in pagan mythology.
It was during this period also that the puerile series of "Prophesies by the Saints of Ireland" were put forward, and which O Curry, generally leaning to the side of age And authenticity for Irish records, denounces as forgeries.
The principal sources for what is regarded as the ancient history of Ireland are compilations of so late a lime as the seventeenth century. Dugald MacFirbis and the brothers O'Clery were the principal persons to carry out this work, the Chronicon Scotorum being compiled by the former, and what are known as the "Annals of the Four Masters" issuing from the hands of the latter. It is claimed for these productions that they are based upon ancient manuscripts how ancient even those who used them appear to have had no knowledge or opinion.
Michael O'Clery, the leading spirit of the four compilers from whom the Annals receive their title, says that the documents on which they worked were not only transcribed but "purged of error and rectified" where it was deemed necessary. What the transcribers' means of detecting error and of rectification were is not explained but there is much evidence of uncritical credulity in their productions as well as obvious anachronisms and other errors. Having taken pains, as Michael O'Clery tells us, lo collect the materials for the re-writing of Irish history, It might have been thought that the compilers would have specially preserved the documents which were their authorities.
But, singularly enough, not one of the manuscripts they utilized has come to light. The same observations apply to the Chronicon Scotorum of MacFirbis, and to what extent, therefore, the works in question are copied from old Irish sources cannot now be determined. They have one outstanding feature in com-

mon. For the greater portion of the long period of Irish history they profess to cover, the Chronicon Scotorum and the Annals of the Four Masters both present an appalling record of barbarism utterly at variance with such a civilization and culture as is depicted by Joyce in his "Social History of Ancient Ireland," and in the still more roseate limnings of Mrs. Green and Lady Gregory. Page after page tells of ruthless murder and continuous strife unrelieved by any suggestion that even the most elementary forms of law and order were in existence.

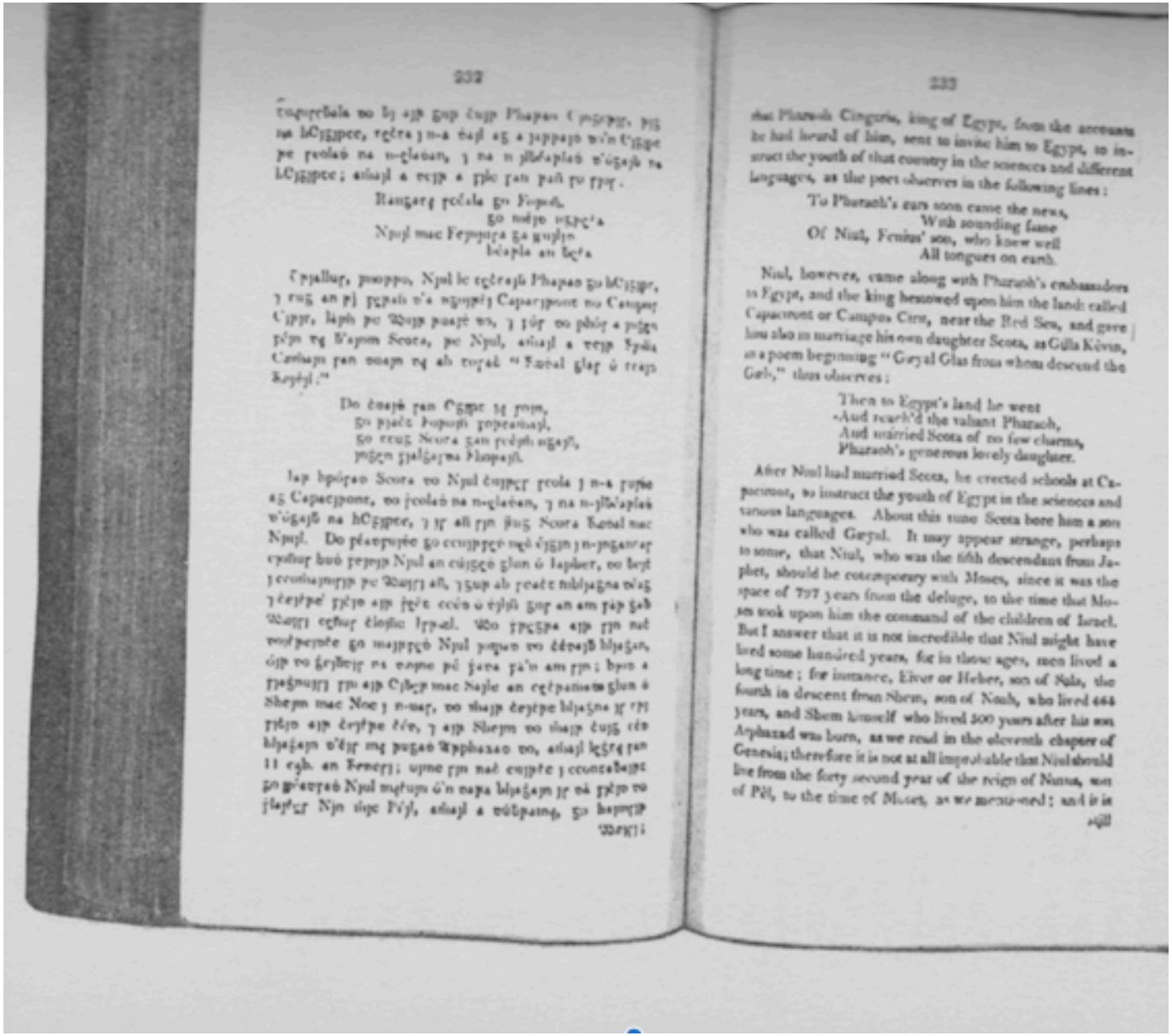
The first general history of Ireland was written about the year 1630 by Geoffrey Keating, a Roman Catholic priest, and translated from the Irish by Dermod O'Connor. Protesting against the slanders of Giraldus Cambrensis, Spenser, Stanihurst, Morrison, Campion and others-presumably the classical authors who also made rather unflattering references to the Ireland of their times - Keating proceeded to construct from ancient documents, as he frequently assures his readers, a history which would clear Ireland of aspersions due to malice and ignorance.

With meticulous details of names, genealogies and dates this author links up the ancestors of the Irish with Biblical characters and history. Nil, from whom sprang the Milesians, was an intimate friend of Moses and Aaron.

When the Israelites were preparing for their journey through the desert of Sinai, Nil and his people supplied them with provisions. In return Moses, having secured possession of the Egyptian fleet, made a present of it to Niul who was thus enabled to witness the destruction of Pharaoh and his army in the Red Sea.

Eventually the Milesians reached Ireland and became the aristocracy of the country. The great ruler of ancient Ireland, largely responsible for culture and glory, was Ollamh Fothla. Keating makes him succeed to the throne of Ireland in the year of the world 3082. Martin Haverty, a later writer, quoting from the Four Masters, begins this reign eight hundred years later, while Joyce knocks another six hundred years off. This indicates a considerable degree of uncertainty about the period of this king whose name Ollamh (Olaf) happens also to be Norse. But there is no uncertainty in detailing the personal qualities and activities of this monarch.

Keating tells us that he was "a prince of the most com-prehensive knowledge and of the strictest virtue that ever sat on the Irish throne. He instituted the most useful laws for the government and advancement of his people and was so indefatigable in his studies that he undertook to transmit to posterity in a very correct history the



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that Pharaoh Cingeris, king of Egypt, from the accounts he had heard of him, sent to invite him to Egypt, to instruct the youth of that country in the sciences and different languages, as the poet observes in the following lines:

To Pharaoh's ears soon came the news,
With sounding fame
Of Niul, Feinius' son, who knew well
All tongues on earth.

Niul, however, came along with Pharaoh's ambassadors to Egypt, and the king bestowed upon him the land called Capacionot or Campus Cirs, near the Red Sea, and gave him also in marriage his own daughter Scota, as Gilla Kévin, in a poem beginning "Gayal Glas from whom descend the Gael," thus observes:

Then to Egypt's land he went
And reach'd the valiant Pharaoh,
And married Scota of no few charms,
Pharaoh's generous lovely daughter.

After Niul had married Scota, he erected schools at Capacionot, to instruct the youth of Egypt in the sciences and various languages. About this time Scota bore him a son who was called Gæyul. It may appear strange, perhaps to some, that Niul, who was the fifth descendant from Japhet, should be cotemporary with Moses, since it was the space of 797 years from the deluge, to the time that Moses took upon him the command of the children of Israel. But I answer that it is not incredible that Niul might have lived some hundred years, for in those ages, men lived a long time; for instance, Eber or Heber, son of Sala, the fourth in descent from Shem, son of Noah, who lived 464 years, and Shem himself who lived 500 years after his son Arphaxad was born, as we read in the eleventh chapter of Genesis; therefore it is not at all improbable that Niul should live from the forty second year of the reign of Ninus, son of Bél, to the time of Moses, as we mention'd; and it is

still

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several travels, voyages, adventures, wars, and other memorable transactions of all his royal ancestors, from Fenius Farsa, the king of Scythia, to his own time; and in order to purge and digest the records of this kingdom, he summoned his principal nobility, his druids, the poets and historiographers to meet him in the full assembly at Tara once every three years, to revise the body of the established laws, and to change or correct them as the exigence of affairs required."

This parliament at Tara was conducted in a most magnificent way. There was a grand marshal, a principal herald and a trumpeter, while the princes had shields on which their respective coats of arms were blazoned.

All this Keating obtained from the bardic tales, and though later Irish writers have been less enthusiastic in utilizing them and more careful to avoid the glaring anachronism of taking the pageantry of mediaeval times back to what must have been the stone age of Ireland, they still dwell with satisfaction on the possibility of Ollamh Fothla having established a parliament at Tara two thousand wars before the time of the English King Alfred.

Keating was for many generations of the Irish people their authority on the country's history, and in more or us revised versions he is still popular.

But even this writer's most obvious fables are modest compared with statements contained in a History of Ireland published so recently as the year 1803.

The author Dr. 0'Halloran in preface to the second edition mentions that his book has in much appreciated not only in Ireland but abroad also. Following a few preliminary observations regarding "the unexampled asperity and cruelty of the Saxon race," Dr. 'O'Halloran proceeds to demonstrate the superior standing his people before the brutal oppressor came on the scene. Here are a few quotations:-

"That they (the Irish) were amongst the first European geographers is demonstrable from the names of places and cities all over Europe being found to be from Irish roots."

“The ancient feudal system is only explicable by referring to our history."

"Celtic was the primeval language of the descendants of Japhet."

"Connal Cearnach, Master of the Ulster Knights, was actually in Jerusalem at the time of the crucifixion of our Saviour, and related the whole story to Cormac, King of Ulster, on his return."

"The 'sacra et delecta cohors' of the Carthaginians was a select body of Irish troops."

"Our common ancestors rather communicated arts and sciences to the Greeks than received them from them."
"The evidence that our ancestors had a considerable naval force is full and clear, and our ancient annals assure us that even in Egypt they were so powerful and so expert in maritime affairs as to be able to seize the fleet of Pharaoh."
This historian also informs us that Cassivelaunus was an Irish chieftain who went to the assistance of the Britons against the Romans, and that Galgacus, the leader of the Caledonians against Agricola was a Hibernian.
In 1845 we were given the voluminous history of Father D'Alton, a very great advance in most respects on what had been put forward previously as Irish history. But for the early period the author borrows largely from Keating, repeating his stories of Nemesians, Fomorians, Tuatha-de-Danaan and Milesians, but takes up a very ambiguous attitude about them.
"Should any one assert." he says, "that the accounts of these various invaders Are nothing more than fables, he might easily be accused of temerity; but, on the other hand, should any one accept all these stories in full and write them down as history, he might as easily be accused of being over-credulous."
By the year 1926 when Eleanor Hull's "History of Ireland" was published it might have been thought wise, even in Ireland, to follow the example of other countries in relegating the more crude myths to oblivion. But we are assured by this historian that masses of (Irish) tradition in the form of stories, "supply the most complete record of a civilization during the pre-Christian period preserved by any European nation north of the Alps." It is, or has been until very recent years, a fundamental belief in Ireland that its pre-Christian civilization was unique - far ahead of anything on the sister island, and comparing, not unfavourably, in many respects, with the culture of the classic world. A very competent authority,
Professor Macalister, in "Ancient Ireland" shows that in its various pre-Christian periods - and pre-Christian is here only another term for prehistoric - Ireland passed from one stage of progress to another - from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age and from the Bronze Age to the Age of Iron, just as other countries did, and with no greater developments in the way of civilization. There is more than that to it. In order to clear the way to my principal theme I propose now to show the stories of the ancient civilization of Ireland and all of her pre-Christian history are inventions of mediaeval times, when Irish nationalism was beginning to develop and Irish writer

desired to give their country "a place in the sun." The Inferiority complex which a prominent Irish politician specifies as the curse of the Irish people has from those limes, on to the present day, stimulated the flood of myth And illusion with which the school children of Ireland are Indoctrinated, and which makes grown-up Irishmen think They are promoting the cause of a Gaelic Ireland by such nets as changing the name of Kingstown for that of Dunleary, of which no part is Celtic and the second syllable Is a borrowing of the name of a Nordic king Leoghaire, by a mediaeval Irish plagiarist.

II
Scandinavian Influence.

The Scandinavians who commenced to raid Ireland in the eighth century, and subsequently settled in the country In large numbers were invariably depicted by native historians, until quite recently, in the darkest of colours.
Undoubtedly they were ruthless in their raiding operations but after they perceived the attractions of Ireland for permanent occupation their presence and influence was, on the whole, beneficial. Macalister says that the Scandinavians "brought a cultural advance into the country." They built on harbours and navigable rivers what were undoubtedly the first substantial cities of Ireland. Waterford, Wexford, Limerick, Cork, and Dublin were not only Norse strong-holds but important centres of commerce.
The newcomers took possession also of many of the most fertile parts of the interior. Ledwich, an Irish antiquary, says that the Norsemen had "kings" in almost every part of the island. A Scandinavian chief, Turgeis, maintained his fleet on Lough Ree, in the very heart of the country, And though he is represented as maintaining a reign of terror, there is good reason for believing that under him und other Norse rulers the savage warfare among the native clans was suppressed and for the first time in her history Ireland felt the beneficial effect of a certain degree of law and order. The writer maintains that the much-lauded Brehon laws, claimed as distinctly Irish and of prehistoric descent, date only from this period in Ireland, and are Nordic rather than Celtic in character. –

At a very early stage the Irish and the Scandinavians began to assimilate and though battles were fought at the instance of ambitious overlords there were generally. Irish on both sides as at the battle of Clontarf. of which Macalister says it would be no more than a mild exaggeration to call an incident in a civil war.
With the one outstanding exception of St. Patrick's writings, the oldest Irish literature goes back no further than the years when Scandinavian influence was making a permanent mark on Irish affairs.
The making, or rather the invention of what has passed current as ancient Irish history commenced comparatively late in this period.
A large proportion of the names given to the leading personages throughout the whole preposterous story commencing before the Flood, was introduced into Ireland from the Nordic north-west of Europe by the Vikings. It is not at all likely that these names would have been utilized by Irish scribes in the earlier stages of the invasions, when the Vikings were regarded with terror and hatred. Their unsophisticated provision of names for Irish history could only have happened when these names had lost their foreign significance, and become commonplaces in Ireland.
They and the mythical accounts of Ireland's glories and the use of Nordic names for Celtic heroes continued in full swing throughout mediaeval times without the shattering anachronism becoming apparent.
That the so-called ancient history of Ireland is still quite seriously accepted in many quarters is a striking proof of the almost entire lack of critical study of Irish literature.
Here are a few instances of these notable "Irish" names.
One of the sons of Partholanus, "the leader of the first settlers to Ireland after the Flood," was Ruraighe, which is the Irish form of the Nordic Roderic. A later immigration was led by Conuing - a purely Nordic word for king.
Two of the sons of Milesius, reputed to be the founder of the aristocratic Milesian race, were Eremon and Eibhar, easily identified as the Nordic names Herman and Ivor.
The renowned Ollamh Fothla was given his name (Olaf) by some one acquainted with the Scandinavian Saga which records the reign in the north of Olaf the Wise, also known as Olaf the Good. The name became synonymous in Ireland for a man of wisdom and ability.
The "Tain-bo-Chuilgne" - that is the "Cattle Raid of Kelnev" _ is a romantic tale much quoted by Irish writers for the light it is supposed to throw on the life of pre-Christian Ireland. But unfortunately for this idea, the

heroine Queen Maeve bears a name that is beyond question Scandinavian, while the principal male character Cuchullin has a name compounded of Cu a tribal prefix and Colin the diminutive of the Nordic Koll.
In the Ynglinga Saga mention is made of King Dag the Great, from whom the family of the Daglingers is descended. Keating in his account of the De-Danaans, has among them Dagdah the Great, an obvious borrowing from the Saga.
The great number of poems known as the Ossianic Cycle, though ranging over a lengthy period from St. Patrick downward, have many distinctively Scandinavian features.
Lochlan and Lochlanners - Scandinavia and Scandinavians - are frequently referred to, and the Irish Oisin suggests the Nordic Odin. Probably more than one author had a hand in the composition of these poems to which the Scottish Gaels have quite as good claims as Ireland.
Joyce says that their language is no older than the 15th century, and Dr. Douglas Hyde in his "Story of Early. Gaelic Literature" admits that the existing manuscripts of the Ossianic Saga are post-Danish productions.
He qualifies this by the suggestion that these are redactions of older manuscripts, a surmise which becomes very tiresome and pointless when repeated as it is by every antiquarian eager to give a more venerable age to the contents of a manuscript than its appearance indicates.
Incidentally it may be remarked that the abuse showered on "Ossian" Macpherson as a forger of alleged antiquities was unjustified and cruel.
I can myself bear witness that the poems in the original Gaelic can still be heard recited in the Highlands of Scotland. Macpherson did no more with them than Fitzgerald did with Omar Khayam and the dignity and beauty of the Scotsman's rendering of the Ossianic Sagas quite entitle him to a place not very far from the Englishman.
Additional Nordic names cropping up in Irish "history"- Finn, Cormac. (Kormak), Oscar, Neil and Niull (Njal), Domand, Conchobar (Konor), Ere (Erik), Cearan (Kjaran), Dearmid (Thormod), Sobairce (Suibert), Aodh (Hugh), Suibhne (Sweyn), Loch (Loki), Edersgeoill (Arketel); Ragallach (Racul). Leoghaire, given as an Irish king in the time of St. Patrick, is an appropriation of the name of A Merovingian ruler. Even Bridget, regarded as a typically Irish name, is no other than Brida, a Scandinavian goddess.
Many of the tribal or clan names are Nordic, as are the prefixes "o" and "mac" to personal names.
The former was used until quite recently in the Scottish lowlands to signify family relationships, while "mac" is found

in several forms in Old Norse and English as the equivalent of "son" _ _ thus "Maga Halfdeane," the son of Halfdeane.

III
Race and Language.

There is not even a suggestion in the oldest forms of Irish literature that the people of Ireland were "Celtic." And in their references to Ireland classical writers are entirely silent regarding any possible connection with the Celtic countries or the Celtic communities of continental Europe. The two leading authorities on Irish history and antiquities, MacNeill and Macalister, both deprecate the idea that the Irish are in any particular racial sense Celtic. Indeed, the former has abandoned the racial part of the theory altogether. In his "Celtic Ireland" MacNeill writes: "Guided more or less by the theories of Celtic colonization set in vogue by D'Arbois de Jubainville and Rhys,
I sought to establish the foundations of our early historical polity on a supposed Celtic colonization coincident with the Roman conquest of Britain.
This hypothesis of a very late Celtic colony or group of colonies to which I thought to attach the story of Mil and the spurious name of 'Milesian, I have long known and professed to be untenable."
As the Milesians have been usually regarded as introducing the Celtic strain into Ireland, this statement of MacNeill makes it very difficult to discover any Celtic element in the Irish people. Recognizing this, MacNeill says in his "Phases of Irish History,"
"A fact which I wish particularly to emphasize is that, throughout its history, the term Celtic bears a linguistic and not a racial significance."
Other authorities in recent years have rejected the view that the Irish people are in any large degree Celtic.
Professor Cleland in "Our Prehistoric Ancestors" holds that "the dominant stock of Ireland is not Celtic but neolithic," and Robert Dunlop reviewing in the Quarterly several books dealing with Irish Review of July, 1906, several books dealing with Irish history writes, “ There is every reason to believe that the ancient Irish were not a single homogeneous, nor in the main, a Celtic people."
Writing from an archaeological standpoint, the only way by which any light can be thrown on the pre-history

or Ireland, Professor Macalister endorses a very general View that the basal element of the Irish people is Iberian or Mediterranean.
From their characteristic weapon he calls these the Men of the Halberd. Upon them descended, perhaps about 1000 B.C., the Men of the Sword, thought by Macalister to belong to the Beaker Folk who entered England from the Rhineland, and later, invaded and conquered Ireland. Next came the Men of Iron, otherwise the Milesians, acclaimed in a great spate of prose and poetry during the last hundred years as typically Celtic and Irish. But Macalister says that "So far as race is concerned this so-called Celtic invasion of Ireland was just as much Teutonic as the Saxon invasion of England: and it is quite possible to maintain that the invaders were actually Teutons in speech." At a wide interval – during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries - came the Men of the Bays, the Vikings of Scandinavia, whose hold on Ireland was never relaxed in spite of all that has been written to the contrary, and whose large stature, fair features and warlike daring were adopted by Irish writers for their Celtic heroes.
Last of all the elements to be taken into account in the make-up of the Irish people are the several successive settlements of English who "became more Irish than the Irish themselves."
Thus in whatsoever way or in whatsoever degree the Irish are to be accounted Celtic is not very apparent but It is outstandingly obvious that they are a very heterogen-sous mixture of races. Is it not probably also that the NO-called Celtic speech of Ireland is of a similar mixed character? Such indeed is the case, and this Irish speech Is no more Celtic than the Irish people.
There are only three forms of Celtic speech existing lo-day - the Gaelic of Ireland and the Highlands of Scot-land, the Welsh and the Breton of France. Of these the Gaelic is regarded as the oldest and most characteristically Celtic.
The West of Scotland Gaelic differs in some respects from the Irish, being more regular in structure, suggesting fewer disturbances and changes, a conclusion which is borne out by the history of the Scottish Highlands.
The Gaelic of Scotland is an admixture of Iberian and Nordic. The same Mediterranean element which entered And populated Ireland in remote prehistoric times, percolated also in lesser concentration into the less attractive Islands and mountainous parts of Western Scotland.
At a much earlier time than the Viking invasions of Ireland, Scandinavians came into these thinly peopled areas of Western Scotland by way of the Shetland and Orkney

Islands, and in their progress entirely taking possession of Caithness and Sutherland.

George Henderson, Celtic lecturer in Glasgow Univer-sity, has written an interesting book dealing with "The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland." The subject is well handled though not without a conservative Celtic tendency.

The word "dun" which Henderson regards as Celtic, is common to non-Celtic speech, and in all probability is one of the oldest words of our primitive Indo-European ancestors. "Rath" another alleged Celtic word appears, like "dun," in the names of numerous towns on the continent of Europe where Celts were never heard of, and other instances might be given of this author's leaning towards a Celtic parentage for Nordic words. On the whole, however, he has done good service in calling attention to the large number of Nordic words in the Gaelic of Scotland. He remarks that when Dr. MacBain brought out his Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language, there were murmurings that he had derived too many words from the Norse. Henderson says he would rather add to them, and does so, yet many further additions could be made to his list. The evidence of the language shows that the Scandinavians who commingled with the earlier arrived Iberians were the rulers, the fighters, the holders of the best lands. Nearly all the place-names, particularly among the islands and along the coast-line of the Highlands are Nordic. The terms relating to the sea and to boats and ships are Nordic. Names of fish, game, birds and wild animals are Nordic. Words of farming and husbandry are Nordic as are many others relating to household matters. With all these concrete terms there are undoubtedly present in the Gaelic of Scotland other parts of speech less easily identifiable. It is not likely that nouns would have been absorbed so largely without the verbs, adjectives, etc., associated with them. The fantastic and un-phonetic spelling of Gaelic together with a good many changes in vocalization during the course of years have tended to disguise almost beyond detection many. Nordic words.

If a critical analysis were undertaken by a scholar acquainted with the older forms of Nordic and Gaelic, the writer is convinced that it would reveal that a very large proportion of the vocabulary and general structure of the latter tongue came from Scandinavia.

Besides differences of pronunciation there are variations in the Irish and Scottish forms of Gaelic which make it very difficult for an Irishman and a Highlander to converse intelligibly. It is more than a mere difference

of dialect. Many of the words and much of the phrasing of Irish speech is strange to a Highlander, and probably the Irishman has the same impression when listening to the Scot.

The Scottish Gaelic is a mixture of two languages and no more. While Irish is also predominantly a mixture of Iberian and Scandinavian it has to be remembered that Ireland had successive waves of population which never affected Scotland but which must have had some influence on Irish speech. Irishmen themselves bear witness to the complexity of the native speech.

MacFirbis, author of the "Chronicon Scotorum," about the year 1650, making an effort to account for the chaotic nature of Gaelic, states that after the destruction of the Tower of Babel, Fenius Farsa compounded the speech of the Gael out of seventy-two other languages. And speaking of MacFirbis, O'Conor, an Irish writer with some knowledge of Gaelic, says that with him passed away all chances of rightly translating the phraseology of ancient Irish.

There was a glossary, written by an Irishman mediaeval times, of what he called the "Tarn" language of Ireland, which Rhys calls Ivernian, associating it with the non-Celtic natives of the British Isles.

O'Flaherty, the Irish historian, says: "The laws of Ireland were written in a speech called the Phenian, while the common speech is what our old grammarians have termed it --*a beurla tabide* - a mixed tongue partly Celtic and partly Scythian, wherein we discover a number of Punic or Phoenician words."

Keating writes: "There are many words borrowed from all languages to be met with in the fourth degree of the Irish tongue."

Some of the earlier annals are written in an uncouth mixture of Gaelic and Latin as if the former had been found inadequate to express what was to be said. All religious terms, the numerals and a great many words of domestic import have been borrowed from the Latin. Yet it is often boasted that Gaelic is an exceedingly rich language. The richness is not so much in words as in a multiplicity of possible meaning for the same words.

Marcus Keane, an able Irish antiquarian, in "Towers and Temples of Ancient Ireland" complains of the heterogeneous meanings in the native speech for the same term. Wood in his book "Primeval Ireland" says: "The poverty of the Gaelic is so great that the same word has many different meanings," and adds significantly, "hence the facility with which the language lends itself to the philological theorist." Ledwich who wrote a book on Irish antiquities which is

unpopular in Ireland on account of the rather unflattering nature of some of its statements, says: "The speech of the Irish became a fluctuating jargon, full of strange dialects.
It had no analogy in its sounds, its anomalous verbs are so variously formed as to depend entirely on the practice of writers.
There are no rules for its cases, it possesses neither alphabetical sounds, words for ideas, orthography or syntax."
Stanihurst, writing on Ireland in the 16th century, calls Irish a jargon, "not reducible in orthography, orthoepy or syntax to any standard."
The attempts by the early churchmen to write Gaelic with the letters of the Roman alphabet were not successful. They tried to give the elusive sounds of the language in a spelling which, as Dr. Reeves, editor of Irish documents remarks, ignores all phonetic rules and construction, making the obscurity of the language doubly obscure. Professor Vendryes of Paris, in "Language - a Linguistic introduction to History," points out the unfortunate results of attempting to give the Irish sounds by the Roman alphabet. He contrasts this with the successful utilization of the Gothic letters by Uphilas -the fourth century translator of the Scriptures into the tongue of his people the Goths of Eastern Europe. Vendryes goes on to say:
"If Ulphilas was successful where the Irish monks made shipwreck it was because he worked over better prepared ground. Gothic as we know it, presents a beautiful grammatical regularity which betrays a common language that has been stabilized. Irish, on the contrary, at the very time that the effort was made to transcribe it was in a state of indescribable chaos."
It is an open secret that the translation of the older Irish manuscripts has been largely a matter of guesswork. There is no such difficulty in the case of English. Except for a few obsolete words whose affinities generally explain them, the reading and understanding of the most ancient English presents no problems to the student. Changes there have been, but not, as in the case of Gaelic, unbridgeable gaps.
The structural changes in Irish speech between the twelfth and the present century have been so great as almost to constitute two distinct languages.
Every effort that has been made in recent times to reduce Irish to grammatical rules has only revealed its complicated and inharmonious character. The exceptions completely overwhelm the rules. Almost every individual noun and verb has its own peculiarities of declension. One of the most earnest efforts to systematize the language makes nine classes of pronouns. By writing phonetically

and trimming unsparingly some sort of Irish speech might be adumbrated. But it would still require the adoption of hundreds of words from other sources to make it a vehicle of modern thought.
Being a mixed or compounded language it could take such new words quite easily and without any structural anomaly. But to call Irish in any stage of its existence Celtic is simply absurd.

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CHAPTER 3.

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.

The Scots.

It will be seen as we proceed that Bede, "the father of Inglish history," is responsible for a great deal of the confusion which characterizes early British history, by giving currency to statements for which any evidence, or even the weight of probability, is entirely lacking.

One such random tale makes Ireland the original home of the Scots and derives from Ireland the Scottish population of forth Britain, as we must for the present call Scotland, to avoid misunderstanding.

Bede's story gratified Irish writers who proceeded to give it verisimilitude by making the Scots descend from Scota, a daughter of Pharaoh of Egypt. The aristocratic Milesians and the Scoti are frequently mentioned in Irish records in a way which implies that they were one and the same people. But, unfortunately for the fiction of their origin, the physical aspect of the Scoto-Milesians points to the North of Europe rather than to Egypt as the part whence they came. Of the hero Finn it was said that,

Marble was his skin,
The rose his cheek,
Blue was his eye,
His hair like gold.

Bede's statements regarding the pre-Roman times of Britain are admittedly of no historical value. and instead of the Scots having gone from Ireland to North Britain the available evidence points rather to a contrary movement from North Britain into Ireland

Ptolemy, compiling his geography in the early half the first century A.D., produced a coastline of Ireland

which is so accurate that he must be credited with a considerable knowledge of the island, and particularly of its littoral parts.
He enumerates a dozen different communities but does not mention Scoti. In the north-east, where the Scoti are found subsequently, he places the Robogdio and the Darini, names which cannot be associated with Scoti.
None of the other classical authors who refer to Ireland of the pre-Christian period speak of Scoti inhabitants, but invariably call the people Hiberni. Had there been Scoti in Ireland then, different in appearance from the Hiberni and holding a dominant position in at least part of the island they could hardly have escaped the notice of the traders from the Mediterranean who carried their information to Rome and Alexandria. But by the time of St. Patrick (A.D. 373-433) we have proof from his writings that Scots were in possession of the north-east of Ireland, though they had not been long enough there to have been merged in the older community, nor to have lost their identity as a ruling class. The north-east corner of the island is directly opposite to Galloway in North Britain, and Galloway was part of the Roman province of Valentia, conquered just about the time when the Scots must have made their first appearance in Ireland - say about a hundred years previous to St. Patrick's mission. What more likely than that considerable numbers of the inhabitants of the conquered territories made their way across the few miles of sea to Ireland rather than accept the rule of the Romans?
Patrick makes it perfectly clear that, in his time, the Scoti were a distinct and dominant element in that part of Ireland where his work was being carried on -_ the north-east. He uses the terms "Scoti" and "Reguli" as synonymous. He speaks of the "Filii Scotorum et filia Regulorum" and has also the phrase, "Una benedictus Scota nobilis." On the other hand his references to the Hiberni give them a distinctly subordinate position.
Apparently contemporaneous with the Scots, a Pictish element emerges out of Irish traditions. Professor MacNeill says that the rulers of Dal-Araidi, the centre of Patrick's activities, were Pictish. That there should be two ruling elements in the same small territory and in the same period seems most unlikely. But assume that Scoti and Picti were two names for the same people, and the difficulty vanishes. There were certainly a people in Galloway who, in the earliest times on record, were sometimes called Scots and sometimes Picts. As agriculturists they had filtered through from territories in the eastern

parts of the country by way of the Forth and Clyde valleys into the fertile parts of what are now the shires of Renfrew, Ayr, and Wigton; and when the Roman legions struck into this district under Agricola it is very likely that many of the inhabitants fled to the opposite coast of Ireland.

There are other circumstances which indicate that the Scoti, in the first instance, went from North Britain to Ireland. Bede says that the leader of the Scoti from Ireland to North Britain was Reuda, but according to the Irish tradition Reuda, or, as the name is written in Gaelic, Righfada, was the founder of the Dalriadic colony in the north-east of Ireland. The name is purely Nordic; ill-rada - ill-ruler - - was an epithet applied to an early Scandinavian king with a disreputable record.

It is not likely that there was, at this time, a native Celtic king in Ireland with a Nordic name or title. Far more probable Is it that the Riada who gave his name to the Irish Dalriada was a Pictish or Scotic leader from a territory of that name in North Britain. There is confirmation of this assumption.

Dr. Reeves, the eminent Gaelic scholar, in his edition of the Life of St. Columba, says that Dalriada is not a native Irish term and that it is difficult to account for except "by supposing that the compound was treated outside Ireland." Confirming this suggestion of Dr. Reeves, it happens that there is an ancient town in Ayrshire, Scotland, called Dalry, from whence the name may have been carried by Picti or Scoti, fleeing, as already mooted, from the Roman legions.

There is another tradition in Ireland which indicates that in certain respects Alba (the ancient name of Scotland, was regarded as having a superior standing, much as would naturally pertain to the original country of the Scoti of Ireland.

Conor MacNessa, an Ulster king, having instituted the Knights of the Royal Branch - a small body of chosen warriors. was advised by another chief, to send them into Alba, to finish their military education. Upon this Mackenzie in his book "Ancient Man in Britain" remarks that "evidently Cuchullin and other heroes of the Red Branch were descended from peoples who had emigrated into Ireland from Britain," since "Warriors would not be sent for their higher military training to a mere colony."

These Scoti or Picts had a significant nickname in Ireland. They were very generally referred to as Cruitni. It is not a native Irish word, but it can be traced to that part of Scotland from which I am endeavouring to show these Scots came. Among the Lowlanders of Scotland

"crowdie" was, in a past generation, a common word for porridge, and hearing the term frequently in the mouths of their Scotic or Pictish over-lords, the native Irish nicknamed them porridge-eaters. The epithet has a further significance.
To provide the porridge oats had to be
grown. The primitive Irish were not agriculturists, the newcomers apparently were, and Lady Ferguson in one of her books ‘The Irish before the Conquest," recalls a legend which makes Cormac, an Irish king of the Ossianic period bring Cruitnean artisans from Alba to erect the first water-mill in Ireland. Besides developing agriculture, the Irish Nennius makes the Picts introduce and walled house," the practice of pharmacy and surgery, and the bardic art.
The theory that these people, Scoti, Picti or Cruitni, were immigrants into Ireland in an early century of the Christian era and that they came from North Britain, otherwise Alba - even in those years not incorrectly known as Scotland - appears to have much to commend it.

II

Scotia.

That the name Scotia belonged anciently to Ireland and not to Scotland is one of the commonplaces of British history. Skene, in "Celtic Scotland," expresses it in the most emphatic language. "Scotia," he says, "prior to the tenth century was Ireland and Ireland alone," and the name when applied to Scotland was "a new one."
The usual form that the statement takes, however, is that not until the eleventh century, in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, was North Britain definitely given the name of Scotland. Marianus Scotus, a contemporary, calls Malcolm
"King of Scotia"-_the first instance, says Skene, of the designation being applied to the whole kingdom
The true position is quite the opposite. The name Scotia was given in certain quarters under a misconception to Ireland, but when the two countries emerged into the light of authentic history, the name, as naturally and properly belonging to Scotland, ceased to be applied to Ireland.
The first recorded application of the name Scotia to Ireland was made in the sixth century by Isidore, bishop

of Seville. "Scotia the same with Hibernia," is the expression he uses. A little later, Laurence, Archbishop of Canterbury, gave the name Scotia to Ireland in a letter addressed to its bishops and clergy. The seventh century geographer of Ravenna wrote of "the island which is walled Hibernia, and which, as is said, is also called Scotia." In the ninth century King Alfred in a translation of Orosius inserts an observation of his own: "Igbernia which we call Scotland."

It will be noticed that in these statements the name Scotia is applied to Ireland only in a secondary sense. "It has come about." each writer says in effect, Hibernia is also called Scotland." The origin of the second name is obvious. St. Patrick had referred in his Confession to Scots as dominant in Ireland; from that it was " natural progression on the part of Churchmen, acquainted with Patrick's autobiography but knowing nothing of Ireland, to give to it the second name of Scotia, and lay-as King Alfred, followed suit.

That the application of the name began in this way is borne out by the fact that in all the references by classical writers before Patrick's time the name they give Ireland is either lerne or Hibernia.

Bede, as might be expected in the circumstances, is confused about the use of the name Scotia. Generally, he calls Ireland Hibernia but occasionally Scotia, prompted apparently by the fact that there were Scots in Ireland. Bede has put on record much interesting information regarding the intimate relations between the Columban Church centred in Iona, and the monasteries of Northumbria. In telling the story Bede always calls the country north of the Tweed by the name of Scotia. In the face of this, and seeing that Bede wrote in the eighth century, it is difficult to understand Skene's dogmatic assertion that Ireland alone was Scotia until the tenth century.

From the end of the eighth century onward the people of Scandinavia had a comprehensive, if objectionable, acquaintance with the British Isles, and their sagas invariably refer to Ireland as Ireland and to Scotland as Skotland.

Coming now to the literature of Ireland it is a remarkable fact that the Irish themselves never called their country Scotia. Dr. Todd, the learned editor of the Irish Nennius and other Irish manuscripts, quotes and endorses the statement of O'Flaherty, the author of "Ogygia," that "although the Irish called their Gaedhelian people Scots, no such territorial epithet as Scotia or Scotland was known in their language, for they had not that name in regard

of their land." In all the old Irish manuscripts and the various later recensions claimed to be based upon them, the names for Ireland are always Erin in its various forms, or Hibernia.

There is one work usually regarded as Irish and at the same time as emanating from the Scottish monastery of Iona, which constitutes a very pronounced exception to, the rule just stated. This is a "Life of Saint Columba, the founder of the famous monastery of Iona, attributed to Adamnan a relative of Columba, and himself a successor in the course of his lifetime to the abbacy.

There are several manuscript versions of this Life in existence, all of them differing considerably in substance from one another. The collocation made by Dr. Reeves in 1857 was a scholarly effort to arrive at a text which should be approximately correct. In all the manuscripts, with one exception, the term Scotia is applied onlv to Ireland while Scotland gets no other designation than Britannia. It is remarkable how often the words Hibernia and Scotia are used alternatively, and when Britannia is mentioned in conjunction with Ireland the term for the latter is without exception Scotia. (Thus "de Scotia ad Britanniam: non in Britannia sed in Scotia".) Most significant of all, at the end of the Life (to be exact in the last sentence but one), occurs the phrase: "the whole of our Scotia and Britain." (Per totam nostram Scotiam et Britanniam.) There is no need for "our" in the context; the use of the word here only has the effect of emphasizing the effort made by the writer all through the biography to indicate that Ireland is Scotland. If this was one of the deliberate objects of the biography it has gained a large measure of success for it is almost entirely on the persistent use of the words Hibernia and Scotia as synonymous that commentators have insisted that the name Scotia belonged originally to Ireland. Along with this insistence there has been a remarkable consensus of opinion, of a totally uncritical character however, to the effect that this biography is a genuine seventh century production, though it bears on its face, in several of its features, proof positive that it was written at least five hundred years later. The simple and touching opening and closing chapters may have something to do with the repute in which this work has been held. These portions are almost certainly taken from an earlier and genuine account of the life of Columba, which, there is reason to believe, was penned by one of his disciples after his death. But the rest of the book is on all fours with the numerous lives of the Saints compiled in late mediaeval times. All sorts of miracles are recorded

from childish trivialities such as exorcising a demon out of a milk-pail, to raising a dead boy from life and turning water into wine - obviously borrowings from the Scriptures. The author was well acquainted with the topography of the Scottish Hebrides, and with such Irish records as existed in his time, and made very adroit use of them. Nevertheless, as is not unusual with literary forgers, he fell into several anachronisms. Although curachs of woven osiers covered with hides were the only craft in use among the natives venturing on the seas between Ireland and the western isles of Scotland, "long-ships" (naves longe) are spoken quite familiarly, though the pression belongs to the Viking Age which began for Ireland two hundred years later. Dr. Reeves, the first and very enthusiastic editor of Adamnon, would have us believe that the term refers to boats hollowed out of logs. But the context admits of no such makeshift attempt to introduce consistency into the narrative. The long-ships are of "hewn pine and oak," and the natives are further presented as handling "massive ship and house-building materials."

We are taken still further forward in point of time by an account of a voyage made in a vessel in which the sailors are described as "drawing taut the halliards" squaring the yards" and references to a form of ship which never sailed the western seas until several centuries after the time of Columba.

By the Saint a man who fell while working on the roof of the round tower of the monastery at Darrow in Ireland is restored to life. But unfortunately for the story, it was not until a century later that the first of these towers were erected in Ireland as safe retreats for the occupants of the monasteries from Scandinavian pirates.

A woman is enjoined to enter a nunnery (monasterium puellarum), although no such institutions existed under the dispensation of the Columban or so-called Celtic Church.

Bede was a contemporary of the real Adamnon and was personally acquainted with him. The English monk mentions in his Ecclesiastical History that Adamnon paid a visit to his monastery at Jarrow and then returned to Scotland (reversus ad Scotiam). The context makes it plain that this Scotia of Bede was North Britain. After mentioning Adamnon's death in Iona, Bede proceeds to note from a book the former wrote "about the holy places," and never mentions a Life of Columba, though, if Adamnon had been the author of such an important biography, Bede could hardly have failed to put it on record.

Another work attributed to the abbot of Iona, "The Vision of Adamnon," is admittedly spurious; the work of some anonymous fabricator of old Irish literature. In view of the evidence adduced - and it could be still further strengthened by exhaustive analvsis - the "Life of Columba" must be placed in the same category as the Vision, and with its recognition as a forgery - probably no older than the thirteenth century - the idea that Ireland, and Ireland only, was Scotia in the days of Columba and the real Adamnon, has to be abandoned.

CHAPTER 4.

PATRICK AND OTHER ROMANS IN SCOTLAND.

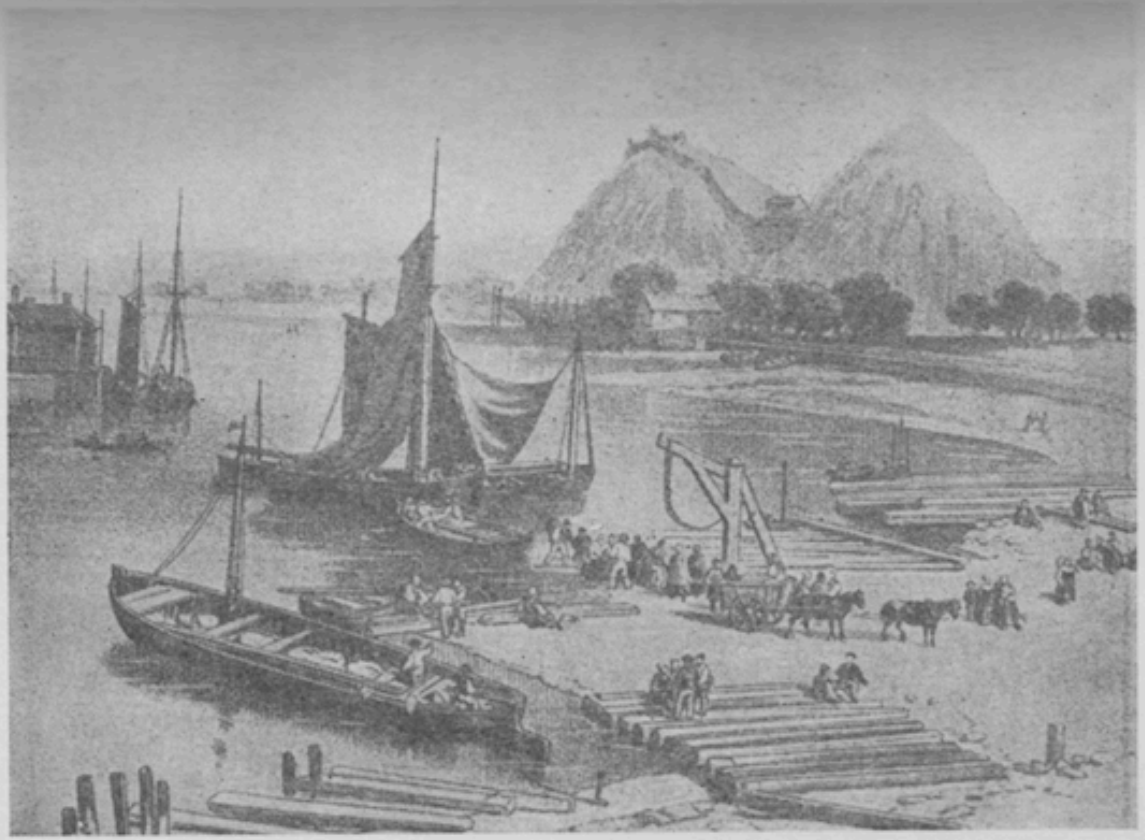
The circumstances of the life of St. Patrick, the revered Apostle of Ireland are of interest, not only in a biographical sense, but bear also a relation to at least one important phase of British history.

The usual opinion regarding the birth-place of Patrick is that he was born in or near the town of Dumbarton, on the banks of the Clyde, Scotland, but in 1905 Professor Bury published a Life of St. Patrick in which with much learning and research he sought to show that, contrary to prevailing opinion, the birth-place was somewhere inland from the Severn in South Wales, and that raiders from Ireland carried him from there across the Channel. In these words Bury sums up his views: "The home of Calpurnius the father of Patrick was at a village named Bannaventa, but we cannot with any certainty identify its locality. The only Bannaventa that we know lay near Daventry, but this position does not agree with an ancient indication that the village of Calpurnius was close to the Western Sea. As the two elements of the name were probably not uncommon in British geographical nomenclature it is not a rash assumption that there were other small places so-called besides the only Bannaventa which happens to appear in Roman geographical sources, and we may be inclined to look for the Bannaventa of Calpurnius In south-west Britain, perhaps in the regions of the Lower Severn."

All this is not conclusive nor convincing, but Bury proceeds to place emphasis on his main argument by Insisting that there could not possibly have been a town In Scotland in Patrick's time which was ruled under the Roman system. An argument that he presses very strongly Is that North Britain was too uncivilized at the time to have been the home of a decurion such as Patrick's father

was. "We have no evidence," says Bury, "that there were Roman towns with municipal constitutions in Strathclyde. North Britain was little more than a large military frontier," and, "the Rock of Clyde, at the extreme end of the Northern Wall, is the last place where, we would expect to find the villula of a Roman decurion.
Such scraps of history as are available on the subject give little, if any, countenance to Bury's theory. In 60 A.D. Agricola entered Scotland, operating on the eastern side. At the river Forth he must have been informed that there was another river running into the western sea - the two creating only a narrow neck of land some thirty miles across, for his next campaign three years later was directed northward and evidently to strike the Clyde at the lower part of its course. From the heights overlooking the river the soldiers would obtain a view of the magnificent Clyde valley. There, about the centre of the picture close by the river rose an enormous rock, deeply bifurcated so that it resembled the upper half of the conventional human heart. "Corda, Corda," would be the cry. Curiously enough, this term crops up in Ptolemy's Geography, but in this instance it is applied vaguely to some place in the upper reaches of the Clyde - a possible misconception on the geographer's part.

Agricola, with his discerning military eye, established a chain of forts from the Forth to the Clyde, obviously with the intention of permanent occupancy. Sixty years later Lollius Urbicus constructed a wall of turfs connecting the forts and a formidable ditch running along the front - another proof that Rome intended to stay there.
At the eastern terminal substantial naval and military works were carried out to provide a convenient base on that side. Dumbarton naturally became the base in the west. At the focus of the navigation of the river at that time, Dumbarton must also have developed into an important commercial centre where the products of the country were exchanged for the manufactured goods brought in Roman galleys from Italy and Gaul. This would mean that a town grew up under the protection of the Rock, occupied by Roman traders forming a substantial colony, and their descendants would carry on through several generations. This is no mere speculation. The fact is established by a singular piece of evidence whose significance is only now apparent and which entirely demolishes Bury's contention. Bury ignored the traditions which uniformly pointed to Dumbarton as having been the birthplace of Patrick and the locality from which he was abducted as a boy and



DUMBARTON

From the Leven. 1847. (From Scotland Delineated)

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carried captive to Ireland. The traditions turn out to be right. One of the oldest and most reliable of them mentions that Patrick was known when a boy as Succat. The observation is made quite casually and without any special purpose - just as any scrap of biography might be passed on. The explanation is now singular and convincing. There Is at the present day, about one mile north of Dumbarton, An estate known as Succoth. The name is an old one, traceable as far back as there is any record. Can there be any doubt but that the Succat of the biography is identical with the modern name Succoth? The difference between Succoth and Succat is merely the difference caused by the inability of a monkish writer, using the Roman alphabet, to record the "th" sound. Now for the proof of the identification of Succoth with Patrick. It is an old custom in rural Scotland for the occupant of a farm or other estate to be familiarly known amongst his friends by the name of the place. Patrick was the heir to, and the occupant of the property - and Succat he would be called quite commonly.

Here then we have the undoubted proof - accidental but all the more telling - that in the third century Patrick carried a Scottish cognomen proving that Succoth was the home of his boyhood, and further demonstrating the existence at Dumbarton at that time of a substantial Roman city governed according to Roman custom.

These elucidations, however, bring us to other apparent difficulties. If a strong Roman colony existed at Dumbarton it is in the highest degree unlikely that any possible number of paddlers in Irish canoes would have ventured up the long winding reaches of the river with the certainty of being met and annihilated by much superior forces.

That these raiders should have succeeded in carrying off thousands of captives to Ireland passes the bounds of credulity. If any raid took place it could only have been landward and not from the sea.

Such a raid in which "thousands" of captives were taken and transported to Ireland would in those days have been a huge undertaking, and could hardly have escaped the notice of chroniclers other than Patrick. Yet the whole mention of this event in all historical sources consists of a brief and vague reference to it by Patrick himself in the "Confession. "Furthermore, he makes it clear that he had no companions sharing his captivity in spite of his statement that he was one of thousands.

The evidence points strongly to the deduction that Patrick was for some reason under a misapprehension as to the scope and nature of the attack which resulted

in his captivity -- a distinct possibility in view of his youth and the confusion which would surround his kidnap. ping. It must be remembered too that he was writing in his old age when his memory was perhaps not so vivid regarding the circumstances.
We may only conclude that there must have been some special reason for his forceful removal as a solitary captive to a remote corner of Donegal from whence it was in the highest degree improbable that he would ever return. He may also have been mistaken in saying that his parents were alive on his return from captivity, as several traditions definitely state that they were murdered when Patrick was carried off.
The scrap of biography which identifies Patrick with Succoth in Dumbartonshire appears to be the only reliable part of this remarkable story.
The connecting of this name with Patrick is too apt to be anything but a fact, and it further shows that a colony of Roman origin existed at Dumbarton in the fourth century A.D.
Patrick's poor Latin - which he himself regretfully admits -_ may be accounted for by his having spent most of his boyhood at Succoth, the ancestral farm, instead of at school at Dumbarton.

[Between the times of writing and publication of this work, Fergus Roberts of Dumbarton has brought out an interesting pamphlet in which he summarizes the evidence supporting the view that Patrick was born at Dumbarton, and points out that Succoth is linked with Patrick's cognomen, Succat. The reader is referred to this pamphlet for an excellent summary of the position.- Editor.]

CHAPTER 5.

THE SCOTTISH BACKGROUND.

1
The Problem?

The earliest mention of Scotland and its people that has come down to us is by Tacitus, writing in the first century A.D. his account of Agricola's campaigns in the northern parts of Britain. Even at that time the country was differentiated by name from the south. It was called Caledonia, and, whatever the meaning of the term, it appears more likely to have been acquired by the Romans from the southern inhabitants of the island than to have originated with the natives themselves. These, in common with the people of the south, are called Britons by Tacitus.
Ptolemy, compiling, his geography sixty years later, calls the country Caledonia, and the occupants of a great part of it are shown on his map as Caledonii.
About the year 250 Dio Cassius, in his "Historia Romana," tells of Caledonians coming to the assistance of the Meatae in the war with Severus.
The Meatae were probably the Caledonian people of southern Scotland.
In 296, Eumenius, professor of rhetoric, orating before Constantius, uses the expression: "Caledonians and other Picts," a crude conjoining of two names which is only worth noticing as the first recorded application of the term Picti to the people of North Britain.
Next we have the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, towards the end of the fourth century, introducing a fresh name - the Scoti. Chiefly on the strength of allusions by the poet Claudian to the Romans of this period driving the Scots back to "icy Ierne" while the Picts are chased As far as Thule, it has been frequently argued that the Scots mentioned by Ammianus came from Ireland. But

Claudian's observations amount to no more than poetic rhapsody intended to emphasize the completeness of the Roman victories. The sober language of the historian leaves no doubt about the fact that his Scots were inhabitants of Britain. Of the various names including those of tribes or sections given anciently to the people of Scotland, only two - Picti and Scoti - survived the departure of Romans and were used by mediaeval writers.

The origin and significance of Scoti is not known. There was, at one time, a very general impression that the Scots were a Scythian people. Porphry, in the third century speaks of them as "Scythice gentes."

Later, Rinerius Rhinectus remarks that the name Scythian survives in that of the Scots. Gildas in the sixth century and Nennius in the ninth, use the words Scythae and Scoti as synonymous. King Alfred in his translation Bede writes Scytisc for Scottish. There is also the circumstance that an early Greek writer in referring to Scythia states that it was inhabited by a people call themselves Scoloti.

Between this name and Scoti there is no great divergence.

Picti can be readily. accounted for. It was merely a nickname applied by the soldiers of Rome to the natives whose tattooed bodies lay on many battlefields. Scots the people called themselves, and, in contact with them Romans became familiar with the name. But the nickname also continued to be used, until, before long, the two terms were merged in a set phrase - Picti et Scoti, for the one people. Ammianus, writing his history in Rome, fell easily into the impression that the two names were those of different "nations." He also divides the Picts into nations - Dicaledones and Vecturiones - and his Attacotti, who are recorded elsewhere as providing several regiments of recruits for the Roman armies on the continent, can be no other than what the name suggests - a section of the Scoti - those most directly under the influence Rome, the "near-by" Scots. All these are represented Ammianus as invading, with some degree of concerted action, the southern parts of the island, and the probability is that all the names refer to the one people.

The British monk, Gildas, writing in the sixth century not only speaks of Picts and Scots as separate nations, but also states from what parts they came to ravage England - the Scots from the north-west and the Picts from the north. By this time there had filtered into the south of the island the knowledge that in the north-west lived a people who spoke a different language from

Picts. These were assumed to be the Scoti of Ammianus, though from a study of the routes, camps and stations of the Romans it would appear that their operations were All within Pictish territories. There is no tradition whatever amongst the Highlanders that their ancestors - - thus mistakenly called Scots - were ever in contact with the Romans either as friends or foes. It is only within quite recent times that the Highlanders have regarded themselves as Scottish men. All their traditions and ancient history are emphatic on this point. The old name of their country was Alban - the mountainous land. Their name for themselves was Albanach. To them Scot was the equivalent of Sassenach - - almost a term of contempt

This confusion in the application of names is reflected in Bede's Ecclesiastical History. In his borrowings from Gildas the monk of Jarrow perpetuates the error of the former regarding Picts and Scots, making them separate nations and giving them different languages. But in his inter and more authentic chapters Bede uses the names of Picts and Scots indifferently for the same people. He tells of Ethelfrid, an English king, living in banishment "among the Scots, otherwise Picts" (apud Scottos sive Pictos).He also relates how Egfrid, a king of Northumbria, led his army "to ravage the province of the Picts, he having the year before refused to listen to the most reverend father, Egbert, advising him not to attack the Scots." The upshot was disastrous, for Egfrid himself was slain and "among the many English that then either fell by the sword, or were made slaves, or escaped by flight out of the country of the Picts, the most reverend man of God, Trumwine, who had been made bishop over them, withdrew with his people that were in the monastery of Abercurnig, seated in the country of the English but close by the arm of the sea which parts the lands of the English and the Scots."

Except by the literati of mediaeval Scotland, who adopted the Roman terms and the mistaken application of them, the term Picti was never used by the natives of eastern and southern Scotland for themselves.

These called themselves Scots and this native name eventually overbore the other so completely as to give rise to the fiction that the Pictish people had been exterminated by the Scots. Rejecting this notion as preposterous the philologists, almost entirely with Celticist prepossessions - have discussed at frequent intervals, during the last two hundred years the question whether the Picts were a Gaelic or Cymric-speaking people, and how they came to change their speech, whatever it was, for a kind of corrupt

English. Not a single phase of the problem has been satisfactorily cleared up, which very pointedly suggest much misinterpretation of the available, though admitted! limited, materials. A simple yet comprehensive solution to all the difficulties will be commenced in the following sections, putting the early period of Scottish history in fresh light, and, it is claimed, on a more substantial basis

II

"Celtic" Scotland.

In his "Critical Essay" published in 1729, Father Innes made a worthy attempt to rid Scottish history of it more obvious fictions as recorded by Fordun and Boece. Eighty years later George Chalmers in "Caledonia," a work of much erudition and research, challenged a theory propounded by John Pinkerton that the Picts were a Gothic people. Chalmers was largely responsible for putting the history, ethnology and ancient speech of Scotland on a Celtic basis, and much is still borrowed from him by Celticists. Having a great knowledge of old documents, Chalmers impressed scholars with the profundity of his research. But he was too keen a protagonist to adopt a critical attitude towards features of his ow case, which is weakened by over-elaboration and an inveterate tendency to jump to conclusions. His derivation of personal and place-names, on which he largely depended to prove his contentions, manifest all the crudity of the philology of his time. Though, apparently not particularly familiar with Gaelic, he used it to prove that all Scotland had once been a Gaelic-speaking country. He was quite unaware that the Gaelic language of the Highlands is largely compounded of Scandinavian words, that practically all the place-names in the western parts are Scandinavian and that a large proportion of the personal and clan names are Scandinavian also. Even Chalmers' reliance on the prefix "Mac" as an invariable Celtic distinction is at fault this being a modification of "Maccu" - the son of. term frequently found in both Saxon and Scandinavia literature. Coming forward another seventy years, William Forbes Skene produced several highly meritorious works on Scottish antiquities. A more competent Celtic scholar

of superior culture to the Celts but that it is so said by the Celts themselves." In the discussion which followed Dr. Karl Blind, the eminent anthropologist, showed that Pictish names had their analogues in the Anglo-Saxon, German, and Scandinavian idioms. "The Teutonic origin of the Picts." said Dr. Blind in conclusion. "was undoubted "

Burton, in his History of Scotland, cautious to a degree in drawing conclusions, gets so far from the Celtic theory as to write: "Overlying the little that we absolutely of the people called Picti, there is the great fact at a very early period - whenever, indeed, the inhabitants of Scotland come forward in European history, the tory assigned of old to the Picts was occupied by a thoroughly Gothic or Teutonic."

According to Professor Rhys,[74] the Picts of Ireland were a non-Celtic people, and it follows that this applies also to the race in Scotland, whence, in all likelihood Irish Picts are derived. Rhys expresses the opinion that a considerable part of the Picts were "probably non-Celtic in point of race, and, mostly, perhaps, in that of language

W. C. Mackenzie, in "The Races of Ireland and Scotland" says: There is no escape from the conclusion that the present Scots (originally Pictish) language is indigenous. And again: "When the Pictish nation was at the height of its power the language spoken in the east of Scotland, and between the Grampians and the Firth of Forth had, as its closest affinity, the language spoken in Scandinavia at the same period."

Though it could be further enlarged, the list of authorities opposed to an entirely Celtic Scotland may be by quoting a recent and weighty exponent of ancient British history, Professor Macalister, who says emphatically: "Whatever may have been the Pictish language, it was not Celtic."

The custom of matriarchy by which the kingly descent was on the mother's side, prevailed amongst the ancient Picts. This system of royal succession was not Celtic, but has been noted as obtaining among Nordic communities.

Chadwick in his "Origin of the English Nation" gives instances from old Norse sources of royal heritage determined from female kinship, and also points out that it appears in the old English poem of Beowulf. The ancient German "mutter-recht" is of the same nature.

There is not a fragment of Celtic folklore discovered among the traditions of Pictland. Much legend and custom coming down from prehistoric times is still to be found in the rural districts of Lowland Scotland, but all has the

stamp of Nordic affinity. The earliest laws and regulations of life that can be traced in Lowland Scotland are non-Celtic. Burton holds that in what may be called the Public Institutions of Scotland there is scarcely a trace of anything Celtic.
Still the theory that Scotland was all originally Celtic continues to hold the field. The two strongest protagonists In recent years for this view are Andrew Lang and Professor Rait. Between them they put forward and enlarge upon what they regard as the available evidence In support of their contentions. These, therefore, fall to he examined with care and at some length. And let it not be hastily assumed that the subject is only a dry-as-dust problem of no particular moment. It will be shown that it has a most important bearing not only on Scottish but also on English history.
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III

"English" Scotland.

Starting from the point of view that the Picts were originally Celtic in speech, Lang in his industriously compiled "History of Scotland," contends that the influence of Lothian brought about the Anglicanization of Scotland, or at least, the parts of Scotland now known as the Low-lands. He holds that the Lothians were originally part of Northumbria and that, therefore, its people were English. Superior in civilization, they gradually imposed their culture and language on the barbaric Celts. Lang regards as "the true makers of Scotland the English settlers between the Forth and the Tweed." The Lothians are "English Scotland": the Lothian English "leavened the whole lump and the process of de-Celtization began."
Lang, however, supplies very few particulars of the process by which the Lowlands became English. Indeed, quite a good case against his theory may be gathered from The chapters in his History dealing with early Scotland. At the first stages of the Roman period in Britain, Lang has no hesitation in placing Lothians outside England. Ile says that "when Agricola arrived in 78 A.D. as governor of the Province of Britain, its northern boundary was probably the southern march of modern Scotland

For this view there is good authority. Ramsay in "Foundations of England' says that Agricola's first northern campaign "meant the complete subjugation of the country from sea to sea, up to the line of the Cheviots." In the following year, Agricola, leaving the Cheviots on his left proceeded northward as far as the estuary of the "Tau or "Tanaus." This campaign must have been a very brief one, for, though many guesses have been made as to the river thus named, even the most northerly, the Tay, is less than a hundred miles from the Cheviots. Hodgkin in his "History of England" suggests that "no piece water would meet the geographical condition better than the splendid estuary of the Tweed." If this conjecture is correct, it is interesting to note that, whatever the reasons, Agricola's first northerly campaign terminated at the Cheviot Hills, and the second at the Tweed, the present southern boundaries of Scotland. It looks, indeed, as Agricola was responsible for thus separating Scotland from England by a borderline which though often over-ridden was not only topographical but was marked tribal distinctions on either side which ultimately consolidated into national separateness. Ptolemy's Geographia has indications that in the first century A.D. Caledonia had its own tribal or territorial subdivisions whose southern boundaries corresponded with this borderline. The Selgovae territories came down to the Cheviots: the Ottadeni occupied the country between the Firth of Forth and the Tweed. The English Brigantes had as part their northern boundary. the Cheviots, but on the east coast they are regarded by some writers as extending to the Firth of Forth. This view, however, ignores the existence of the Ottadeni.

The tribal and national aspects of this question we confused by the construction of the two walls - the Antonine and the Hadrian. Neither of these was a territorial or tribal boundary, the sites having been determined by the narrowness of the country between their respective terminals, which made them more easily defensible. Though the Picts, to whom the Selgovae and the Ottadeni belonged, gave much trouble to the Roman province south of Hadrians' Wall there is no evidence show that they ever occupied any of the territory between the wall and their old boundaries.

With the departure of the Romans an almost impenetrable haze settles down for three hundred years on the affairs of the island, and it is not until we come to Bede writing in 731, that authentic information is available about the north of England and the neighbouring parts of

Scotland. And even Bede gives us only myth and tradition until the arrival of Augustine in 596.

It is made to appear by Bede and all subsequent writers of history, with only a very few exceptions, that in the period called by Belloc "the Gap" because so little is known About it, a tremendous change came over the affairs of England. The natives were completely overwhelmed by hordes of Anglo-Saxon invaders from the Continent, who looks permanent possession of the whole country, with the exception of Wales and the Cornish peninsula. The Roman province of Brigantia became Bernicia, but in Bede's time the part of it north of the Humber was known as Northumbria, and the southern portion as Deira. How far northward Northumbria extended is not indicated with any certainty by Bede but he is generally regarded as Indicating that it ran to the Firth of Forth. Yet even from his Ecclesiastical History some facts can be gathered which seem to mean that the country between the Forth and the Tweed had been, except for a brief interval, Pictish or Scottish territory. Somewhere about the year 678 Bede records that the Archbishop of York, among other appointments, placed Trumwine as bishop "in the province of the Picts which at that time was subject to the English." Trumwine's headquarters were at the monastery of Abercurnig (Abercorn) adjacent to the Firth of Forth. This, therefore, is the arm of the sea which Hede goes on to say "parts the lands of the English and the Scots" - an obvious contradiction of his previous statement that this "province of the Picts" was only temporarily in the hands of the English. Trumwine only held his position for a few years. Following the defeat of the king of the Northumbrians by the Picts, Trumwine and his people had to flee for their lives to the south, and up to the time of writing his History, some 46 years Inter, Bede says that the Scots had continued in possession. The Forth, therefore, only parted the lands of the English and the Scots while the former were temporarily in occupation of this Pictish province, but on Bede's ambiguous phrase Lang and other writers have regarded the Lothians as English. Yet so far as is known this territory continued to remain in the hands of the Scots until it was formally recognized as Scottish at the beginning of the 11th century by Edgar of England.

Straining to establish his case for an English Lothian, Lang places great emphasis on what he calls the current derivation of Edinburgh. He identifies it with "Eadwine, rightful prince of Deira who reigned over the English from Forth to Trent," and who gave his name

to Eadwinesburgh. "Thus deeply rooted," says Lang, “is the Englishry of the east Lowland Scots." But that Edwin ever ruled over lands north of the Tweed is a pure assumption for which there is no evidence whatever and that he gave his name to the Scottish capital, rests on way in which an English priest three centuries later happened to write the word.

Bede, eulogizing Edwin, as a notable convert to Christianity, tells us that this prince "as a reward of receiving the faith and as an earnest of his share in heavenly kingdom, received an increase of that which he enjoyed on earth, for he reduced under his dominion all the borders of Britain that were provinces either of the aforesaid nation or of the Britons. a thing which British king had ever done before." More soberly, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states, under the year 617, that Edwin succeeded to the kingdom of Northumbria, subdued all Britain, the Kentish men alone excepted.” Britain in these quotations is a synonym regularly used in old writing for England. Both quotations considered together imply that Edwin's successes were achieved within England, and certainly do not indicate that he added any part of Scotland to his kingdom. Unfortunately also for Bede's idea that a Divine providence favoured Edwin, his triumphant career lasted at the most only five years, at the end of which period he was defeated and slain by Penda the pagan king of Mercia, who reduced Northumbria to utter desolation.

In the jumble of writings attributed to Simeon of Durham, but certainly the work of several hands, Ed burgh is enumerated among other places as having churches under the rule of the bishop of Lindisfarne the year 854. This by no means implies that Edinburgh was subject politically to the English.

In those times the Church ignored worldly boundaries in establishing dioceses and appointing bishops. Thus the bishopric Glasgow, as held by Kentigern, extended a considerable distance into England, but the overlapping of national boundaries by the Church was regarded with disfavour by secular rulers. In the case of Scotland both kings and bishops opposed the claims of the Archbishop of York to ecclesiastical jurisdiction in certain parts of the country and in the 12th century Pope Alexander III abolished Anglican interference in the Church affairs of the Northern Kingdom.

Simeon's spelling of "Edwinesburch" is rather surprisingly regarded in some quarters as proof that Edwin of Northumbria captured the Lothians and gave his name

to its principal stronghold. Similarity of sound is a very hazardous and unscientific resort in philology, and Simeon appears to have been rather uncertain in his spelling of Scottish place-names. Just before his mention of Edwines-burch he writes another name, Eoriercorn, a bad attempt at Bede's Abercurnig. It will be shown immediately that Simeon merely gave an English turn to an old native Scottish term.

Those who derive Edinburgh from King Edwin have another string to their bow. Some fifteen years after the death of Simeon, the Scottish King David I who had a regular mania for creating religious institutions throughout his dominions, established Holyrood Abbey by a charter in which the name of the adjacent city is written "Edwines-burgh." Here we have a probable borrowing from Simeon by a monkish scrivener, desirous of enshrining the name of a saintly king in the designation of the capital of Scotland. But whatever the intention, this method of spelling. the name was not taken up. There is a large number of contemporary and later charters in which Edinburgh is mentioned, but the English form of the name never appears in any of them. It is variously written Edysburg, Edenburgh, Edinburg: never by any chance is Simeon's Edwinesburch reproduced after its solitary appearance in the Holyrood document.

The great natural stronghold of Edinburgh Castle is supposed by some authorities to have been the Castrum Alatum of the Romans, a name not inappropriate to its uplifted wings of rock. It must also have had a native name long before King Edwin's time and there is very strong proof as to what this native name was. The tenth century Pictish Chronicle, which antedates Simeon, refers to Edinburgh as "oppidum Eden." The Irish scribe, Tighearnach, who also wrote before Simeon, mentions a siege of "Etin" which Skene identifies as Edinburgh. Yet in the face of these definitely controverting facts, the notion that Simeon's spelling of the name determines its significance will probably continue to be held as long as the theory of an English permeation of ancient Scotland continues to provide some sort of a standpoint for those Scots who so complacently regard and even welcome the Anglicanization in modern times of their country.

Camden, the English antiquarian of the 16th century, mentions that in the Charter of David I the place is "stiled Edwinesburgh." But apparently rejecting the derivation this spelling of the name implies, he writes in the part of his volume apportioned to Scotland, of "the town of Eaden, commonly Edenburrow." Sharon Turner in his "History

of the Anglo-Saxon," states that Eidyn was the ancient name of Edinburgh
The derivation and significance of Edinburgh admit of no doubt. Eatinn - iotun. The word is spelt in many ways, is a Nordic term signifying primarily a giant but is also used to designate a hero or warrior. It is embodied in place-names all over Northern Europe. The towering rock of Edinburgh - a stronghold sure to be occupied in prehistoric times by a succession of over-lords would be called the castle of Eatinn long before King Edwin's time. Even had he conquered Lothian - though of this there is no proof whatever - it is in the highest degree unlikely that the people, held in subjection only for a few years would perpetuate their misfortune in the name of their principal citadel.
There is one piece of evidence which very definitely indicates that ancient Lothian was not English. Nothing is more characteristic of Anglo-Saxon England than the great number of family or tribal settlements marked by the "ing" or "ingas" suffix, scattered throughout the country. Kemble traces 1,529 of such place-names in England. There are a few in the borderland counties of Wales but none in the interior parts of the Principality It is a reasonable conclusion that their absence marks the limit of English penetration. The "ing" names are found in Northumberland to the number of 48, and several of these, Doddington (Dodingas), Ellingham (Ellingas) Chillingham (Cylingas), Eglingham (Eclingas), Titlingtor (Titlingas), Whittingham (Wittingas), are only a few miles south of the Tweed.There is not a single one north of that national boundary line. The few Scottish names that have "ing" in them do not derive it from tribal associations

IV

Tell-tale Place-names.

Philology always has been regarded as supplying the most convincing evidence that the Picts of Scotland, in common with the rest of the people, were Celtic and used Celtic speech. Chalmers, long regarded as a most weighty authority on Scottish antiquities, crowded his pages with what he and many others regarded as unassailable proofs

that the place-names of Scotland were almost wholly Celtic. For the most part, Chalmers found his derivations in Gaelic, and was profoundly unaware that a very large proportion of Gaelic place-names are really Scandinavian In origin. And Rait, the eminent Scottish historian, following Chalmers, says that Celtic place-names in Scotland outnumber all others by nearly ten to one. He gives instances which careful consideration shows to be very unfortunately chosen. "Edderton, near Tain," he says, "though sufficiently English in appearance," is "Eadar duin," the town between the hillocks. Falkirk, the fourteenth century Fawkire, is a translation of Eglais breac, the speckled church. Earlston is Ercheldon or Ercildoune. Almond is a corruption of Amhuinn - a river. Glen Howl is Gleann-a-ghabail - the glen of the fork

Taking the names in the order given, the "duin" in Rait's derivation is either a Gaelic borrowing of the Nordic "tun" or the word "dun" which is common to languages other than Celtic. "Edder" is probably a corrupt form of "jotner"- warriors, and the whole name may be resolved into the Nordic designation of "Warriors' town." Falkirk, locally pronounced Fawkirk, is an older name than the Gaelic Eaglais breac. Kirk is from the Greek Kuriakon - the Lord's House - and is reminiscent of the fact that Christianity was first introduced into Britain From Greek sources, before Roman ecclesiastics set foot in the island. Eglais is the Latin ecclesia, a word of later introduction. "Faw," a Nordic word now obsolete, meant dun-coloured or variegated, and with the latter significance would be applied to the structure whose white mortar made A vivid contrast to the dark stone. Instead of Fawkirk being a translation of Eaglais breac it is more likely that this was the original name and that the Gaelic, with its Inter period name for a church, is the translation.

Earlston or Ercildoune clearly should not have a place In a selection of allegedly Celtic place-names. It is beyond question a Lowland Scottish word which cannot be traced to any Celtic source. Doune is the equivalent of the old English "down" - signifying high-lying country, and Ercil is "hirsel," a Lowland term applied to a flock of sheep. Sir Walter Scott uses it thus in one of his songs "Come from your hills where the hirsels are grazing." Almond, locally pronounced Awmont, has, in its first syllable, the old Nordic”Au” also written "ahwa" in the fourth century. Gospels of Uphilas. Mont or mounth is a Lowland borrowing of the Latin "mons."

Glen Howl, rendered into Gaelic by Rait as Glean-a-ghabail is a typical instance of how this plastic Celtic

speech can be utilized in a false philology. Glen is usually regarded as a Celtic word but is nothing more or less than a corruption of the Nordic "Cloo" or clough. Its earliest written form as a Celtic word is Claun. To that the linking preposition "na" came to be attached. Thus gleana-ghabail is the ordinary way of writing the term which originally was Glea-na-ghabail. The second part of the name is a borrowed Lowland word "gowle" or goul, which has some relation, probably, to the Latin "gula“- a throat, meaning in a secondary sense, in both instances, a ravine or gorge. There is a place called the Windy Goule, a few miles from Edinburgh.

Much work has yet to be done in clearing up, in the light of modern philology, the derivations of place-names in Lowland Scotland, but here are two other typical instances of the misleading trend of the Celticist school. The "kel" in Kelso is usually supposed to be the Celtic "kil," or church. But the old form of Kelso is Calkheugh, a compound of two Nordic words meaning chalk-hollow. Glasgow is invariably claimed as a Celtic name, though Celticists differ among themselves as to its precise roots. The name was anciently spelled Gleschu and it is quite obviously cognate with a group of old English names such as Glazebrook and Glastonbury. Gles in its various spellings is a prehistoric Nordic root. In its primitive use it appears to have signified sunlit water. Amber, because of its shining transparency, was called gles long before glass had been seen or heard of in Northern Europe. Also by a kind of poetic parallelism the word became associated with anything that had a sheen, such as grass waving like water in the breeze and sunshine of a summer day. Therefore, the precise significance of "gles" in any place-name is uncertain; we only can be sure that the term is Nordic. This is further evidenced by the frequent association of a second Nordic syllable, thus "brook" in Glazebrook and "byrig" in Glastonbury; while Gleschu has "hoo" or haugh - the valley in which the city of Glasgow is situated. Despite the confidently asserted philology of Chalmers and his followers, there are few Lowland Scottish place-names which are not resolvable into Nordic rather than Celtic elements.

Much emphasis has been placed on the appearance of "Aber" in Scottish place-names, and as this is a still more frequent prefix in Welsh nomenclature it is used as an argument that the Pictish speech was a Cymric dialect. Welsh etymologists assure us that "Aber" is a native Welsh word, but as Welsh is largely compounded of Nordic words it is not impossible that "Aber' may be found to be

one of them. It is applied sometimes to a place at the confluence of two streams and sometimes to a place at a river mouth. Thus it has two quite different significations, which induces a suspicion that the word has a much more general meaning than is usually given to it. Primitive settlements would almost invariably be "over," that is in the vicinity of a river, and "aber" is in all probability only a corruption of that word. There is a large number of ancient towns in non-Celtic Europe in which "ober" appears.

"Inner" corrupted into "inver," and "auchter" which is "outer," are also purely Nordic words, indicative of the situation of places thus named. The list could be considerably added to, thus we find in England such a place-name as Ashton-under-Lyne, while the equivalent of this "under" in Scotland is "neath" as Roseneath - - anciently Rossneath.

Bede says that the Pictish name of the eastern terminal of the Antonine Wall was Peanfahel. and again this is taken as a Cymric word, the "pean" being said to be identical with the Welsh "pen." But there is a Scottish "pen" with a totally different meaning from the Welsh. It is a name applied to an enclosure, particularly a walled enclosure. The pen or pend of every old Scottish farm-house of any importance had the dwelling and outhouses on three sides, while the fourth had a wall with a gateway in the centre. Guarding the end of the Antonine Wall was a fort, and as the word was unknown to the Lothian folks of Bede's time they called the structure the "pen" at the end of the wall, conveniently shortened to "pen-wall." The most significant thing about the name is the way Bede spelled it. The monk of Jarrow had probably some personal acquaintance with his neighbours across the Border, and, in writing pen-fahel, he tried, as far as possible, to reproduce the local pronunciation. To this day old-fashioned Lothian natives pronounce "pen" as Bede has written it - with a long diphthong sound, and his "fahel" is another attempt to give the soft long drawn utterance of "wall" as it still lingers on Lothian tongues.

There are two other words, taken from Irish sources, which are quoted as Pictish. One is "scolofthes," obviously a corruption of "scholasticus," for which the Irish scribe rather than the Pict may be responsible. The other is "carthait," given as the Pictish name for a pin. So far, this word, if word it be, remains insoluble. The nearest approach to it is the Icelandic "tit" which has this meaning, but, if related to "carthait," deprives this alleged Pictish word of any Celtic complexion.

V

Anglicized or Normanized?

Professor Robert S. Rait, in his "Making of Scotland," contends even more strongly than Lang for the de- Celticizing of Scotland by English influences, and makes these more direct and definite than Lang's gradual permeation by way of the Lowlands. Rait devotes a chapter specially to this "Anglicanization," and thus readily enables consideration of the position he takes up. In this chapter he may be said to have brought together what he regards as the historical evidence for his views. He gives the impression, however, that, like Lang, he writes to fortify a prepossession, and, in consequence, shows at times a rather uncritical tendency in handling his materials

Rait says that the change from a Celtic to an English Scotland began to take definite shape towards the end of the eleventh century, in the reign of Malcolm Canmore and that it was initiated by his Consort, Queen Margaret, "an Englishwomen," whose "twenty-five years of Anglicanization "was "the record of the beginnings of the real conquest of Scotland."

The use by Rait, as well as Lang, of the terms "English" and "Anglicanization" in relation to this particular period, is quite inappropriate and misleading. The influences which operated on Scotland during Canmore' reign, and subsequently, were not English but Norman and there is a vast difference in the significance of the two expressions. It was the difference between two nationalities and two languages; between conquerors and conquered. The Norman and his influence in Scotland in those times, were actually anti-English.

Queen Margaret is called an Englishwoman. She was English only by a much diluted blood relationship. Her father, known as the Atheling, was himself of mixed Saxon and Norman descent. As an exiled member of the old royal line he spent most of his life at the Court of the King of Hungary, and had married a Hungarian lady probably a niece of the king. It was in Hungary that Margaret lived with her parents during her early years. Towards his latter end, the then king of England - the childless Edward the Confessor - invited the Atheling to England, prompted, it may have been, by a desire to secure the succession for this relative. But the Atheling died mysteriously, soon after his arrival, and his family, re-

maining in England, appear to have become wards of the well intentioned and religiously-minded Edward.

It can be said with absolute certainty that during her childhood in Hungary, Margaret had no acquaintance whatever with English speech, and in the surroundings and atmosphere of the Court of the Confessor she was not likely to acquire what was then regarded by the Norman aristocracy as the barbarous tongue of an inferior race. The king, as Ramsay says of him, was "Norman in all but name and having lived for many years in Normandy, continued to the end of his days "clinging to all things Norman." Thierry the French historian of the Norman Conquest, goes into particulars. "Under the Confessor," he writes, "Normans swarmed into England. The Norman language banished from the Court the national one, which was an object of ridicule to the foreign courtiers…… Saxon prelates and abbots were removed to make room for Frenchmen…..The national fortresses were placed in the keeping of military Normans, and Norman priests were the intimate advisers, the religious directors and chaplains of the King of England."

After the Confessor's death came the short and disastrous reign of Harold, and the conquest by William of Normandy made England more Norman than ever. The Atheling family retired into Scotland and were hospitably received by Malcolm Canmore, to whom Margaret soon after gave her hand in marriage.

Margaret's training and education in England were entirely in Norman hands as is evidenced by a phrase of Lanfranc, the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, who refers to her as his "beloved daughter in the Lord.” She had very religious leanings, and as Queen of Scotland worked zealously for the Roman Church, and against the Culdees, regarded at that time as almost heretical in certain matters. Margaret set herself to supplant them, and, with that object in view, introduced Roman priests and monks. How many Roman religious were introduced into Scotland by Margaret, and whence they came, we do not know. It is just as likely that they came from the Continent as from England. Even in the latter case the Norman prelates who controlled ecclesiastical affairs in England would take care to send into Scotland as representatives of the Church only their own people, rather than, Saxons unfriendly to Norman interests.

The standard argument that all Scotland was originally Celtic and that the process of changing over to English began as the result of the marriage of Malcolm Canmore

and Margaret, is based on a statement by Turgot, the Norman prelate brought to Scotland by the Queen. In a biography of Margaret written by Turgot, it is mentioned that in her conferences with the native clergy Malcolm acted as interpreter. Here, triumphantly declares every contender for the orthodox theory, it is stated on con temporary authority that Malcolm translated Gaelic into English for his Queen and turned her English into Gaelic for the Culdee monks. Both are purely gratuitous assumptions and both are utterly misleading. It has already been shown that by education and association Margaret's speech could have been no other than Norman. It has also to be pointed out that Malcolm spent several years of his youth at the Court of Edward the Confessor. where he could not fail to acquire a knowledge of Norman-French, and where it is by no means improbable that he met and conversed with Margaret. Malcolm, therefore, in those disputations between the Queen and the native clergy, changed their speech not into English, but into the language of the Norman rulers of England, who had given Margaret a purely Norman upbringing and education. As we shall see immediately, it is just as certain also that the Scottish speech which Malcolm rendered into Norman-French was the Pictish or Lowland tongue.

The absence of definite evidence of a change of speech, or of an Anglicizing of Scotland, is emphasized by the way in which comparatively insignificant matters are adduced in support of those theories, and which fail, on examination, to carry the construction sought to be placed on them. Simeon of Durham is quoted as saying that Malcolm Canmore, after one of his raids, brought so many slaves and handmaids of English race to Scotland that there was no hamlet or even hut without them. To infer that those unfortunates, whose numbers are obviously grossly exaggerated by Simeon, played any part, as the use of the episode implies, in the Anglicanization of Scotland, is to manifest more resourcefulness in argument than sense of proportion. It is also straining to an absurd degree after evidence to find the establishment of a Cistercian monastery in Aberdeenshire in the 13th century mentioned as responsible "in part, for the supercession of Gaelic by the Aberdeenshire Doric of the Buchan district." It is not unlikely that those monks came from the headquarters of the Order in Burgundy, not knowing a word of English. Or, if from England, they would belong rather to the dominant Norman than the Saxon element. How this handful of monks, whether Norman-French or Norman-English, managed to impart to an extensive district, the

broadest of all Lowland speech is left to the reader's imagination
Rait quotes, as evidence that Gaelic was the language of Aberdeenshire so late as the middle of the 12th century, certain Gaelic notes in an ancient manuscript known as the "Book of Deer." The greater part of this document is occupied by Latin writings of a religious character. The Gaelic memoranda record how Culumkille and Drostan, coming from Hi (Iona) to Aberdour, received a grant of Deir, and mention is also made of subsequent grants of land by local landowners. As the notes make clear. Deer was an off-shoot from Iona, and its monks, recruited from that notable institution, having Gaelic as their native speech, quite naturally jotted down in that language these notes regarding their worldly affairs. But the notes made in Gaelic in this manuscript no more prove that Gaelic was the speech of the surrounding district than the notes in French in a book belonging to a Norman monastery in England can be taken as proof that the same language was spoken by the inhabitants of the vicinity.
A statement of Buchanan is often referred to as showing that in his time (he died in 1582) Gaelic was spoken in parts of Galloway. This district had long had the evil reputation of having been inhabited by fierce and lawless people. It is also the only part of the Lowlands of Scotland where Scandinavians succeeded in establishing themselves in any considerable numbers, and thus gave the local speech a foreign tinge. The name Galloway has no connection with Gaels or Galls. It is a relatively modern rendering into a more English appearance of the old name Gauwey, as still pronounced locally by the "common" folk. One Scandinavian record calls the district Gadgedlar. It may be regarded as certain that Buchanan never ventured his person in the wilds of Galloway. When he says that Gaelic was spoken in those remote parts he was merely repeating a rumour about the speech of the inhabitants being different in some respects. In the same way, tourists who have been to the Shetland Isles have quite frequently Inken away the impression that the native Scandinavian dialect was a kind of Gaelic.
The most definite and emphatic proof that Celtic speech never prevailed in Lowland Scotland is found in the fact that its nomenclature is non-Celtic. Towns, villages, farms and even particular fields, have non-Celtic names in the oldest charters, as Andrew Lang points out. It is equally a fact that the nomenclature is not of English origin. If during the alleged period of change, elements of English population entered Scotland in sufficient numbers to change

not only the language but the place-names, these must, tr some extent, show the English characteristics of the period. Scandinavian settlement had largely influenced the nomenclature of the northerly counties of England, from whence the supposed permeation of Scotland must, in the main, have come. As far south as Lincolnshire place-names ending in "by," "thorpe," "thwaite," and "garth' are very numerous. Yet they are not represented in Scotland except in an odd instance of much later application It could not, therefore, have been an English element of the period which changed the language and at the same time changed the place-names into forms entirely lacking in the contemporary English characteristics.

The presence of English settlers in Scotland is not denied. King Malcolm allowed Saxons fleeing from the Conqueror to obtain safety north of the Border. But the attitude of Canmore's own people to those incomers was too unfriendly to give them any influence in Scottish affairs. They were on a different footing altogether from the Normans. After the death of Malcolm an effort was made to expel the Saxon refugees from the country, but it appears to have been only partially successful, as Edgar the successor of Malcolm, acknowledges in several charters the presence of English settlers in his realm.

It is David I, the last surviving son of Malcolm and Margaret, who is most generally charged - or credited with having played a large part in the Anglicizing of Scotland. But David did not Anglicize Scotland. His efforts were directed towards Normanizing it and there is no doubt but that he was very successful. During the greater part of his youth David had lived at the Court of Henry I of England which was as Norman as in the days of the Conqueror. Coming to the throne of Scotland, David surrounded himself with Norman friends and to most of them he apportioned estates. The Scottish Court became so Norman that native Scots aped Norman ways and acquired Norman speech, which latter continued to be in use among the Scottish lords for several generations When Edward I was adjudicating at Norham in 1292 on the rival claims of Bruce and Balliol to the Scottish Crown the proceedings were carried on entirely in Norman French, both the Scottish claimants making their case in this language.

David also brought Norman bishops from England to control the numerous sees he established, often out of the royal estates, thus earning the gibe of one of his kingly descendants that he was a Sair Sanct for the Croon" (a sore saint for the Crown); much also was done

to fasten a feudal system on Scotland. Needless to say this was not an English concept but entirely a Norman Introduction.
The activities of Church and State in this alleged Anglicizing of Scotland were aided, says Rait, "by a third and no less potent influence. Scottish commerce was beginning to have a history and that history is English." In what degree and in what particulars it was English we are not told. There is no evidence whatever for such a sweeping statement. The trade of both countries was with the continent rather than with each other, and in Scotland principally with Flemish merchants who brought and shipped away such raw materials as hides and fish, and sold wines, fine cloths, glass-ware, arms and armour in return. Many of these Flemish traders made their permanent homes in Scotland, and not a few of their descendants played an influential and honourable part in Scottish affairs.

VI

"The Langage of the Scottis Nation."

As already noticed, the change of speech in Pictish Scotland is said to have commenced with the marriage of Malcolm Canmore to the "English" princess, Margaret, in 1068. Under the most favourable circumstances of those times the change could only have been a very gradual one. So far as the laity and the mass of the people were concerned no education in English existed. The only means of acquiring a knowledge of the alien speech would be by intimate contact with those who spoke it, and only a few could have had such an opportunity. Yet if the change took place it must have done so with remarkable rapidity, acquiring at the same time a distinct Lowland Scottish complexion, for there are in existence records of the reign of David I (1124-1153), in the form of regulations drawn up for the governance of certain of the boroughs which, though written for the most part in Latin, contain an occasional phrase in Lowland Scottish which apparently the compiler was unable to render into the classical diction, or thought it best to reproduce with the pithiness of the every-day speech. Thus, Lowland Scottish must have been the common tongue in the principal towns

only fifty years later than the time when it is alleged English began to be introduced into the country. By this time of Alexander III, who was accidentally killed in 1286 there is proof positive that the Lowland speech was current in the greater part of Scotland. The simple and unpretentious verses lamenting the untimely death of the king have all the aspects of a national language which could have been no comparatively recent acquisition. And the most remarkable thing about these verses is that they are entirely non-Celtic in vocabulary. It is simply impossible that a Celtic speaking people picking up English haphazard could have avoided interlarding the new speech with many words of the old. This alone constitutes an emphatic and conclusive argument against any supposition that such a change could have taken place.

It is a singular, and in some respects an unfortunate fact that the earliest existing literary production of Scotland is more English than Scottish in its diction, and is, therefore, often referred to as proof that the Lowland speech is only a dialect of English. This descriptive poem, celebrating the exploits of Robert the Bruce, was written by John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, a few years after the Battle of Bannockburn. Barbour studied at Oxford and kept up the connection by later visits. Though thoroughly Scottish in sentiment, he appears to have been rather pleased to have had a knowledge of the "Inglis toung" and certainly used it liberally in writing his poem.

Other Scottish writers, following Barbour, have applied the term "Inglis" to their native speech. They have had one of two reasons in view or, perhaps, both. The first was their awareness of some degree of kinship between Lowland Scottish and English; and the second was the frequent designation of the Gaelic of the Highlands as Scottish or Scots, and the need on that account for another term for Lowland Scottish speech. But Gawain Douglas, the popular 15th century Scottish poet makes his position, in this regard, very clear. In an epilogue to his translation of the Aeneid he writes –

"This buik I dedicate,
Writand in the langage of the Scottis nation."
and a little further on he declares that he was -
"Kepand na Sudroun bot our awn langage."

Dr. R. G. Latham, whose knowledge of philology was quite encyclopedic, devotes a short chapter in his book on "The English Language" to "Lowland Scotch" and remarks that," reasons for treating the Scotch as a separate substantive language lie in the extent to which it has the qualities of a regular cultivated tongue, and a

substantive literature - partly substantive and separate at the present time, wholly separate and substantive in the limes anterior to the union of the crowns, and in the hands Of Wyntoun, Blind Harry, Dunbar and Lindsay." Latham mums up thus: "The literary Lowland Scotch (which was, of course, a reflex of the common speech), was, under the first five Jameses as truly an independent language as compared with the English, as Swedish is compared with Danish, Portuguese with Spanish, or vice versa."

Lowland Scottish speech is in these days undergoing a process of disintegration due now undoubtedly to overwhelming English influences. From a philological point of view at any rate this is a matter for regret. This branch of the Nordic group of languages had a rich and peculiarly expressive vocabulary as is evidenced in the "dialect" poems of Burns. With its disappearance is sure to go a good deal of the distinctive Scottish nationality which, so long hostile to England, now unites in friendly rivalry to promote the welfare of the Empire. Even more rapidly Than the Lowland Scottish the Gaelic of the Highlands will follow the same course. But long may both branches of the family tree continue to produce men and women who will maintain the spirit and the traditions of their race.

….

The main features of the preceding consideration of the Scoto-Pictish question may now be summarized as follows:

> There is no authentic evidence whatever that the Pictish people, in any period of their history changed over from a Celtic to what has been regarded as an English form of speech. The available evidence all points to the conclusion that the Picts were a Nordic race of prehistoric antiquity in Scotland, speaking a correspondingly ancient and pure Nordic language.
>
> Pictish Scotland is roughly identical, territorially, with Lowland Scotland whose people and speech are directly descended from the people and speech of Pictland.

Following the writer thus far a critic may hesitate regarding an antiquity claimed for Scotland which makes the beginnings of the English in England, relatively a matter of yesterday. As to that I invite my readers to proceed to the next phase of this study.

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PART II

ENGLAND WAS EVER ENGLAND

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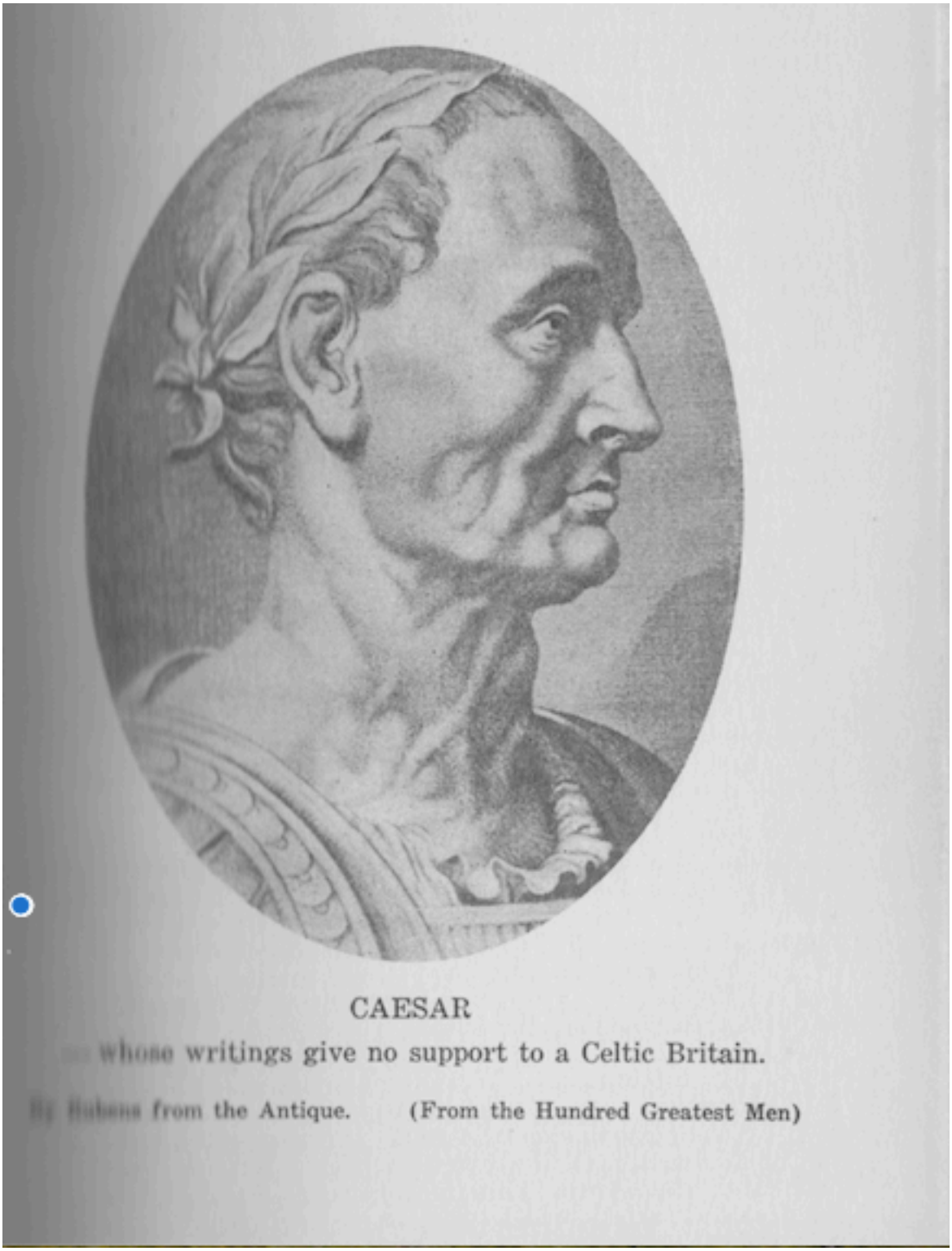
CHAPTER 6.
THE FLIMSY CASE FOR A CELTIC ENGLAND.
I

Writers Old and New.

'The writer now presents the following proposition.-
The English language has been the common tongue of the people of England from *prehistoric times, and neither the theory of a Celtic England nor an Anglo-Saxon Conquest has any substantial basis of fact*.
The following chapters will demonstrate in detail the truth of this generalization, which though conflicting entirely with orthodox views, provides a basis for complete and satisfactory solutions of the many unsolved problems And difficulties of early English history.
The notion that the people of England were originally Celtic in race and speech is responsible for much of the uncertainty and confusion which characterises English antiquities. There is hardly a single issue, whether philological, ethnological or historical, upon which Celtic Authorities themselves are agreed, and a survey of the theory as applied to England shows how precarious are its foundations and how flimsy, though outwardly imposing, is the structure erected upon them. It has not even the merit of antiquity. The old classical authors, as far as we are acquainted with them, are all silent about a Celtic England, indeed the implications in some instances are distinctly unfavourable to it. Pytheas, a Massilian Greek, the first known writer to visit Britain (which he did about the year 334 B.C.) says that Britain is several days' journey beyond Celtica. Which part of the Continent he meant by Celtica is a matter of doubt, but it is clear, at any rate, that to Pytheas Britain was not Celtic.
Caesar, with his wide experience in Gaul, should have been able to say, and in all probability would have said

that the people and speech of England were Celtic, had such been the case. But not once does he suggest that there were any Celtic features about England.
Efforts have been made to show that the Belgae of Gaul, and therefore the people of England, were Celtic. But Caesar's emphatic statement that the Belgae differed from the Celli in language, institutions, and laws - three fundamental distinctions - cannot, by any casuistry, be disposed of. The proofs that the Belgae were not Celtic will be given later.
Tacitus, suggesting that the Caledonians were of Germanic origin, is non-committal about the English except in one remarkable sentence, which taken in its true light proves Nordic relationship. In due course this evidence also will be adduced.
No arguments for a Celtic England can be found in the casual references of the later Greek and Roman authors, such as Prosper Tiro, Zosimus, Strabo and Procopius. The use by these writers of the term Britons has no implications either of race or speech; it has merely a topographical significance.
St. Germanus, a Gaulish prelate of the Church, visited England twice in the early part of the fifth century. Hi biographer, writing thirty years after the Saint's death represents him as, in the course of the first visit, leading the Britons to victory in a battle against Picts and Saxons The account of his second visit, made in the year 117, relates only conflicts with heresy, although at this time England is supposed to have been in desperate straits from the attacks of enemies by sea and land. Nothing can he gathered from this biography of Germanus to suggest that his Britons were Celtic either in race or speech. Gildas, the earliest native writer whose work has come down to us is commonly supposed to provide a starting point for the theory of a Celtic England and an Anglo Saxon conquest. Until quite recently, his querulous Book of Lamentations was given an importance as history far beyond its merits. Gildas is blamed by Professor Oman as being responsible for much misconception regarding the period immediately following the evacuation of the island by the Romans. Writing in exile about the year 560, he makes it appear that the Britons were all exterminated by the Saxons except a small remnant which escaped to the fastnesses of the extreme west. But even in his own later statements there is disproof of Gildas' tale of wholesale disaster, which was shaped to fit his role a prophet proclaiming to a godless generation of



CAESAR

whose writings give no support to a Celtic Britain.

By Rubens from the Antique. (From the Hundred Greatest Men)

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countrymen that the wrath of heaven had descended upon them on account of their wickedness.
Entirely honest and unsophisticated himself, Bede discerned no ulterior motive in the extravagant statements of Gildas but borrowed largely from them, repeating almost verbatim the dismal account of the misfortunes of the Britons at the hands of their enemies. Apparently Gildas was the only available source of information on this subject for Bede, although the latter tells us that he made diligent search after materials for his History.
It is a singular fact that towards the end of the so called historical part of his book, Gildas makes it perfectly clear that the Britons ultimately overcame their enemies. Thus he writes: "Sometimes our countrymen, sometimes the enemy won the field, to the end that our Lord might in this land try after his accustomed manner these his Israelites, whether they loved him or not, until the year of the siege of Badon-hill, when took place also the last almost, though not the least slaughter of our cruel foes." Recalling the terrible desolation of the island "and the unexpected recovery of the same," Gildas goes on to explain how these events "remained in the minds of those who were eye-witnesses, but were forgotten by a later generation who were ignorant of this troublesome time and had only experience of the present prosperity." Bede repeats this statement of Gildas, with only a few verbal alterations, adding however, that the Britons "never preached the faith to the Saxons or English who dwelt amongst them," a curious observation from which it certainly cannot be gathered that the Britons were in I condition of inferiority to the Saxons either in status or numbers.
There is nothing in Gildas or Bede which gives the faintest support to the notion that the Britons were a Celtic people or that they were overwhelmed by an Anglo-Saxon Conquest.
The next literary production of Britain in point of antiquity is a manuscript doubtfully attributed to a person called Nennius and usually dated as ninth century. It is a jumble of scraps of Roman history often incorrectly reproduced, borrowings from Gildas and Bede with expansions - such as intimate conversations between Hengist and Vortagern, and much more fiction of a similar character. Apparently of Welsh origin, this chronicle has been much resorted to by Welsh antiquarians, though Oman contemptuously dismisses it as "rubbish. Its support of the Celtic theory consists of the writing of place-names in the Welsh way.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, commenced in the tenth century, and in its earlier references to England admittedly mythological, or at the best vaguely traditional, fails to throw any light on the race or language of the people whose conquest this compendium purports to relate. The details of the alleged conquest as will be shown later, are pure fiction invented to account for the presence in England of an English-speaking people supposed to have driven out Welsh-speaking Britons.
Among the mediaeval chroniclers, Geoffrey of Monmouth is the most outstanding. In the 12th century this monk produced a History of Britain which, though immensely popular as such for many generations is not now taken seriously. According to Geoffrey, it was Brutus -a descendant of the Trojan Aeneas - who brought the first immigrants to Albion, forced the giants who lived there to flee to the caves of the mountains, and called the island Britain, after himself. The language which at first bore the name of Trojan, or rough Greek, was also called British. Brutus built New Troy upon the river Thames. But the most important character in this chronicle is Arthur, the great Welsh leader, who according to Geoffrey, repeatedly defeated the Saxons, in one battle killing with his own hand four hundred and seventy men. He added Ireland, Iceland, Gothland and the Orkneys to his dominions and also subdued Norway, Dacia, Aquitaine and Gaul. Geoffrey's fictions flowered, later, in a great crop of romantic tales and poetry, and much that is still regarded as tradition, if not genuine history, had its genesis in the imagination of the author of the Historia Britonum.
This Welsh monk inspired his compatriots to regard themselves as the inheritors of a great and glorious past, which, in the years when modern history, such as it was, began to be written, they proceeded to re-create quite in Geoffrey's way. The name Cymry by which the Welsh call themselves - meaning countrymen or kindred - is no older than the attempts of patriotic leaders to unite the strength of the Principality against the Normans. But, unaware of this, Welsh enthusiasts discovered in the term proof of interesting relationships. Thus it was claimed that the Cymry were descended from the Cimmerians of Herodotus. The Cimbri who in the second century B.C. defeated several Roman armies were said to be akin to the peoples of Wales. Again, seizing on a similarity of names, Welsh writers invented a kingdom of the Britons which embraced Wales (Cambria), and Cumbria on the Scottish border. The words Cambria and Cumbria have no philological connection, the former being the Latinized

and territorial modification of Cymry, while the latter is the Latin form of Cumbra-land, a Nordic pre-Roman name, signifying the land of the "cumbs" or hills. This kingdom In said to have come into existence after the departure of the Romans and for several centuries to have maintained Its independence against the Saxons.
But Bede is entirely silent about it, though he could hardly have avoided mentioning such an important native State existing in his own day and contiguous to his own country-side of Northumberland. Lancashire, lying in the heart of this supposed kingdom of the Britons, affords neither tradition nor any other trace of it. Its earliest king is given as Cunedda, but though the name has been classed in the usual off-hand way by Celticist philologists as Celtic, the "Cune" of it is certainly a borrowing of the Nordic "Cyning." The names of Cunedda's progenitors are also rashly proclaimed to be Aeternus, Paternus and Tacitus. No one appears to have claimed these as Celtic. Another of the kings bears the Nordic name of Roderick. The whole story of this British kingdom persisting into Anglo-Saxon times, is a crude fabrication -
- one of the many which have been foisted by Celticists on British history.
It is an unfortunate feature of early English history that much of it has been drawn, in a very promiscuous and uncritical way, from Welsh sources. There is an extensive range of Welsh literature including the much vaunted Triads, but as a result of investigations by such competent Welsh scholars as Thomas Stephens, it is now generally recognized that the oldest Welsh manuscripts are All of late mediaeval origin, and Skene, a competent Authority, has definitely denounced the Historical Triads as "spurious." Nevertheless, there are still writers who regard and use these Welsh documents as throwing light on the most primitive times of England.
In 1586 Camden published "Britannica"_a work still of much antiquarian interest and value regarding the Britain of his time. But Camden's dippings into the remoter past are far from reliable. Though only. very Imperfectly acquainted with Welsh speech, he deduces from It many English place-names, and thus arrives at the conclusion that "the British, or as it is now called, the Welsh language was used by the original and most ancient Inhabitants of the country."
So far, the idea that the Britons and their speech were Celtic had never been mooted by any British writers. But in 1707 Edward Lhuyd published "Archaeologia Britannica," in which, with much industry, he compiled

lists of Irish, Welsh and Armorican words, and taking his cue from French sources, grouped these as Celtic. From this point on, the theory of a Celtic Britain began to take shape, especially among Irish and Welsh writers, but their incursions into archaeology, history and philology were marked by more enthusiasm than critical scholarship.

Putting the argument for a Celtic England beyond question, as he thought, John Whitaker in his "History of Manchester," published in 1771, gave a list of some three thousand Welsh words which he found in the English language. About this time also the school of Comparative Philology had its beginnings, and Celtic was classed as one of the important variations of speech. Sir William Jones, who had made a profound study of Oriental languages, declared that the similarities between Sanscrit the ancient language of India -. and Greek, Latin, German and Celtic, could only be explained on the hypothesis that these languages had a common parentage. His dictum was eagerly followed up, especially by German scholars, and thus was established what became known as the Aryan cosmogony. It was based on the assumption that Central Asia was the cradle of an Aryan (noble or superior) people who, trending westward into Europe, diverged in the course of many centuries into various nationalities and forms of speech. Of these, Celtic gave some trouble in classifying. Although supposed to have prevailed at one time over a considerable extent of Europe, Celtic speech had, for some unaccountable reason, disappeared entirely, except in French Brittany and in the British Isles which, singularly enough, had been regarded in ancient times as non-Celtic it is generally held that its Celtic tongue is not native, but was the introduction of Welsh-speaking immigrants who passed over to that part of the continent as the result of inroads on their territories by Nordic neighbours, usually identified, erroneously, as Anglo-Saxons.

If a form of speech in any degree approaching Irish or Welsh was ever used in any part of the European continent (leaving Brittany out of question) it is very remarkable that no definite traces of it can be adduced. There are, of course, the usual glib assertions that certain words and place-names throughout Europe are Celtic. But in France, for instance, where a Latin dialect was gradually superimposed on the native speech assumed to be Celtic, then a large proportion of the present vocabulary must have continued to be Celtic. Yet, while French speech contains a large number of Nordic words, only a very few are alleged, with no good reason, to be Celtic.

(It has

been already shown that the so-called Celtic speech of Ancient Gaul must have been a Teutonic dialect.)

Unable to find any continental language definitely Celtic, philologists had no recourse except to fall back on the Welsh and Irish speech which to the delight of Welsh and Irish patriots, were accorded the distinction of being regarded as the surviving representatives of one of the primitive languages of the world, and an important branch of the Aryan or Indo-European group. To all appearances, This position was put beyond question when, in 1853, J. C. Zeuss published his erudite "Grammatica Celtica," in which, working on the oldest existing Welsh and Irish materials, he constructed a Celtic accidence on the principles of Latin grammar, though both dialects are, in reality, utterly Irreconcilable with the regular system of the latter.

For the next fifty years the cult of Celticism had in extraordinary vogue. The literature of the Celts was extolled for its richness, its delicacy, its poetic idealism, by writers who accepted the highly refined translations of originals whose coarseness in many cases could not be literally rendered, and whose vocabulary was largely composed of Nordic words. Though wit and humour are almost entirely absent from Celtic literature, the presence of these qualities in English was attributed to Celtic Influences. The Saxon was represented as stolid, matter-of-fact, lacking the finer qualities with which the Celt is endowed. Even to-day, the genius or brilliancy which In Englishman may manifest, is often accounted for, in sketching his character and attainments, by a more or less suppostitious Celtic strain in his ancestry.

In such a favourable atmosphere the claims of Celticism to recognition in the English schools of learning and culture could not be gainsaid, and a Welshman, John Rhys, who had acquired a reputation as a Celtic scholar, was In 1877 appointed Professor of Celtic at Oxford. Two years later he published "Celtic Britain." In this book Rhys formulated, in a more comprehensive and explicit way than had previously been attempted, an account of the period during which a Celtic people and a Celtic speech are assumed to have existed throughout the British Isles. For many years head of the modern school of British Celticists, and eschewing the extravagances and absurdities of so many of his predecessors, Rhys is to be regarded as having put the case for a Celtic Britain in Its strongest and most favourable light. He therefore requires a due amount of attention.

About the prehistoric beginnings of this Celtic period Rhys makes guesses which he has frequently varied: as

to its still more mysterious ending in England he attempts no explanation. Even for the intermediate parts of his study, Rhys is frequently in the position of having to make bricks with very little straw and that of a doubtful quality. Of this Rhys was himself well aware. "It is unavoidable," he writes in a preface, "that much of the reasoning should be of a highly hypothetical nature." But even allowing for this, he avoided difficulties rather than met them, and showed more ingenuity than balance in many of his arguments and deductions. The Dictionary of National Biography says of Rhys (his death having occurred in 1915), "Where a more cautious man would have decided that the data were insufficient, he often preferred to suggest a series of alternative theories, some times without making it clear that he was presenting in each of them, not something intended to be a definite interpretation of the facts, but simply a suggestion which appeared to deserve consideration even if it should later have to be withdrawn." This rather involved sentence of criticism, drolly suggestive of Rhys's own manner of expression, hints delicately at the confusion and uncertainty which characterize this subject of a Celtic Britain even when handled by an acknowledged authority and expert.

A large part of Rhys's book is merely a recapitulation of the Roman period in Britain compiled from the usual classical sources. As from these nothing can be gleaned in favour of the Celtic theory the writer had here to be necessarily, quite non-committal. Coming down to the earliest native information, Rhys finds very little in Gilda or Bede to assist him. To what he obtains, the Professor gives a degree of Celtic colour. Some use is made of the ninth century Nennius, though regarded as worthless and unreliable by modern historians. The greater part of his details Rhys fills in from Welsh sources - the spurious Triads and mediaeval compilations, most of them no older than the 12th century. Out of such materials are constructed the so-called historical portions of "Celtic Britain.

As an enthusiastic Welshman and Celtic scholar, Rhy fairly revels in philological arguments. Apparently not well acquainted with the old Nordic forms of speech, and failing to realize the significance of the fact that from very remote times the Nordics had impinged frequently and in a very substantial degree on the so-called Celtic peoples of Britain, materially influencing their speech, Rhys, no better in this respect than all his Celticist precursors took it for granted that every word in Welsh or Irish was Celtic, though an occasional name is admitted to be outside this category. There are others, however

with quite obvious Nordic roots, such as Cenomanni and Cunobeline, which are roped in by Rhys as Celtic.

Popularly accepted as an authentic contributor to British history, Rhys is regarded in critical quarters as a partisan with extreme and fluctuating views. Rice Holmes, in "Ancient Britain," a work quite encyclopaedic in its wealth of detail, makes several comments on the instability of the views of the author of "Celtic Britain." One quotation must suffice. In his chapter on the Celts, (p. 445, first edition), Holmes writes: "Professor Rhys has more than once changed his opinion about the Celtic Invaders of Britain since he began to handle the subject. In the second edition of his 'Lectures on Welsh Philology' he argued that they were not two distinct nationalities speaking two distinct languages; in other words he maintained that the Gaelic and Brythonic dialects had been evolved within the British Isles after the Celts had entered them. In the preface to 'Celtic Britain', however, which was written in January, 1884, he recanted, and his old view Is now obsolete. For many years past he has maintained that the earliest invaders were Goidels, or, as he now prefers to call them, Celticans: and that the latest comers were Brythons. But whereas until a recent date he held that the only Brythonic invasion was that of the Belgae, and that Pytheas who visited Britain towards the end of the fourth century B.C. is not likely to have found any Brythons here; he now holds, or at all events held a few weeks before the time I am writing, that the first Brythonic invaders appear to have settled here before the middle of the fourth century. B.C."

In some respects a Celticist himself, Dr. Holmes does not hesitate to emphasize the utter lack of agreement among modern writers on the Celtic question. Nicholson in "Celtic Researches," says Holmes, “has recently attempted to prove that all his predecessors are entirely mistaken even on the few points on which they are agreed." Professor Cuno Meyer holds that no Gael ever set his foot on British soil save from a vessel that had put out from Ireland, and his words are echoed by Dr. MacBain. The French authority d'Arbois de Jubainville differs in various respects from Professor Rhys.

"On most of the questions that concern us," laments Holmes, "competent Celtic scholars differ widely amongst themselves. And again, "On almost all the fundamental questions of Celtic ethnology the philologists agree to differ,” and waxing cynical on the ingenuity of the Celticists. Holmes winds up thus,

"I ask myself whether some future philologist will not adduce the similarity

between Tamesis and Tamesi, the name of a Mexican river, as a proof that the Celts once colonized Central America: whether he will not compare the name of Admiral Togo with that of the British prince Togodumnos, and prove that the Japanese Nelson was of Celtic ex-traction?"

A more recent criticism of Rhys's Celtic ideas is made by Professor Collingwood in "Roman Britain and the English Settlements,' published in 1936. He says: "The late Sir John Rhys called attention to a broad division of Celtic languages into two classes, which he called Goidelic and Brythonic, most easily distinguished by the existence of a Q sound in the Goidelic where the Brythonic used a P; and he advanced the theory that there had been two waves of Celtic immigration into Britain from the continent, the first of Goidels or Q-Celts and the second of Brythons or P-Celts; it then became a task for archaeologists to discover when these two invasions took place, and what distinct types of civilization they introduced. The task was never satisfactorily accomplished, and to-day Celtic philologists no longer regard it as a legitimate problem." In other words, it is one of the many problems, mostly illegitimate, and insoluble from a Celticist stand-point, which Celticism has foisted on British history.

Even while Rhys, in the successive editions of "Celtic Britain," was endeavouring to strengthen and harmonize his structure, its foundations were crumbling.

The one proof, thought to be beyond question, on which the Celtic theory had rested, was the presence of a large number of Welsh or Cymric words in English. It has been mentioned that Whitaker made a list of these, amounting to three thousand words. In 1859 was published, posthumously, a volume of philological essays by Richard Garnett, an official of the British Museum, and highly esteemed in his day as a student of languages. In one of the essays dealing with "The Languages and Dialects of the British Islands," Garnett takes the same line as Whitaker. He makes a much smaller list of what he regards as borrowed Welsh words current in English, but adds that the examples given were "not a twentieth part of what might be alleged." There were many others who wrote in books and magazine articles to the same effect, and the conclusion that a form of Welsh had once been the universal speech throughout England appeared to be established beyond serious challenge. But a few years after Garnett's volume appeared, a word of warning was uttered by a very competent authority. In his book on The History and Origin of

the English Language," George P. Marsh, Lecturer at the Lowell Institute of Boston, U.S.., after expressing doubts About the correctness of Celtic etymology, showed, in several instances, that words thought to be derived from Welsh roots were more probably Nordic. In 1887, Walter W. Skeat, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge, went Into this question more fully in his "Principles of English Etymology." Admitting that in his earlier "Etymological Dictionary" he had been at fault in giving a list of supposed Celtic words in English, he said in his later book that "many of the words formerly. thought to be Celtic are now known to be nothing of the kind." He also expressed the opinion that some of the older words thought to be Welsh "look very like loan words from English," and concluded the chapter on this subject with the following paragraph: The net result is that the old Celtic element in English is very small, and further research tends to diminish rather than increase it. The greater part of the Celtic words in English consists of comparatively late borrowings; and the whole sum of them is by no means large. A wild comparison of English words with modern Celtic forms, such as is commonly seen in many dictionaries, savours more of ignorance than of prudence."

Skeat's forecast regarding the results of further research has proved to be correct. Of the old Celtic words once thought to be imbedded in English the number has been reduced to the proverbial baker's dozen, and even regarding These there is uncertainty. Very significant is the circumstance that this wholesale dismissal of alleged Celtic words from English has been accepted without question by all leading philologists. Not even Rhys attempted tore-establish the linguistic basis on which the theory of a Celtic England was largely founded.

II
The Welsh Red Herring.

The suggestion of Skeat that words regarded as Welsh might be borrowings from English has not yet been followed up with any degree of thoroughness. There are very few students of the Welsh speech outside of Wales. And the investigation suggested is one which a Welshman could hardly be expected to take up with any degree of enthusiasm. Right on the threshold of this phase of the

language question the converse of the position taken up by Whitaker and Garnett confronts us. Their claim that three thousand words in English were Welsh having been disproved, it follows that these must be English words incorporated into Welsh speech. There is no doubt but that such is the case. Welsh, like Irish, is a language compounded of a Mediterranean element and a Nordic. with differences between the two so-called Celtic dialects arising from the different circumstances under which the blending was brought about. The syntax and a proportion of Welsh words belong to the Mediterranean group of languages.

It is generally recognized that the basis of the Welsh population was formed by the gradual infiltration of a Mediterranean people into the western parts of Britain in very early times. And if the contention in process of demonstration in these chapters is correct, namely that English was the speech of a Nordic people which occupied the greater part of England many centuries before it is supposed to have been introduced by the Anglo-Saxons, it is easy to see how the Welsh became a mixture of Mediterranean and Nordic tongues. The wildly distorted nature of the Welsh traditions (in common with the Irish), regarding contacts with strangers may easily have originated long before, the Roman times when Nordic agriculturists forced their way into the fertile Welsh valleys, mixing their blood and their speech with those of the natives. Later, Scandinavians, and later again Flemings, both belonging to the Nordic race, settled in Wales in no inconsiderable numbers, and all the while the overwhelming mass of the English not only continued to press the Welsh westward but planted colonies in their midst. The degree to which Welsh is indebted to English is illustrated by two characteristic instances. The place-names in which "Llan" and "Bettwys" appear are usually regarded as typically and peculiarly Welsh. Yet both prefixes are of English origin. "Llan" is just the Welsh spelling of land, and was a term originally applied to a space of cleared ground. It was on such a site that the first churches in Wales were erected, and by a simple process of transference, the name came to mean the church itself."Bettwys," a house of prayer, is the English bead-house, with the same meaning, and anciently written "bed-hus."

That this hybrid admixture of Mediterranean and Nordic speech ever came to be designated and regarded as Celtic is one of the most fantastic notions which has ever led historians astray.

CHAPTER 7.

A CONSPICUOUS ABSENCE.

With the bottom knocked out of the principal argument for a one-time Celtic speech in England, it now became the task of the still unconvinced Celticists to account for the absence of Celtic words in the English language. Two main explanations were offered, but even as presented, were accompanied with admissions and qualifications which largely. neutralized them. Canon Stubbs, in his "Constitutional History of England," accepts and endorses the hysterical account by Gildas of the extermination of the Britons by the Saxons, and also takes it for granted that the former were Celtic in race and speech. "Whom the sword spared," writes Stubbs, "famine and pestilence devoured. Roman civilization as well as Celtic speech and customs disappeared. supplanted by purely Teutonic speech and social order." Yet Stubbs admits that "in the country, especially towards the West and the debatable border, great numbers of Britons may have survived in servile or half servile condition; some few of the greater men may have made, and probably did make terms for themselves, especially in the districts appropriated by the smaller detachments of adventurers; and the public lands of the new kingdoms must have required native cultivators."

Freeman, following Stubbs, takes much the same line. In his "History[22] he writes: "Though the literal extirpation of a nation is an impossibility, there is every reason to believe that the Celtic inhabitants of these parts of Britain which had become English at the end of the sixth century, had been as nearly extirpated as a nation can be.' And again in a volume of "Lectures"[23] Freeman says: “How far in any particular district the vanquished were slain, how far they were simply driven out, we never can tell. It is enough that they were exterminated, got rid of In one way or another . …I have never said or believed

that every single British man, still less every single British woman, was exterminated, • some women and slaves were spared."

A priori, as admitted by both writers, the extirpation of a numerous and by no means unwarlike people by relatively small bands of adventurers is highly improbable.

And since Stubbs and Freeman thus endeavoured to explain the supposed disappearance of the Celt and his language from England, research has definitely disproved their contentions. Archaeological spadework, aided wonderfully by aerial photography, has unearthed numerous ancient British villages in recent years, and the remains of these give no support to theories of wholesale massacre. A few indications of rapine and sudden death have been found, attributed to the Saxons, but the evidence for that verdict is by no means conclusive. At Woodcote was found the skull of a child with a sword-cut which had caused death. It was most probably a private and isolated outrage, certainly a quite inadequate indication of massacre, which if as widespread and general as suggested, would have littered England with split skulls. At Castor, near Norwich, pick and spade uncovered a house burnt with 36 persons inside. Two cemeteries have been excavated in which men had been buried, each with an extra skull alongside. The date for these is given as about A.D. 400-too early to be associated with the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, and a much more probable explanation may be hazarded.

Many of the excavated Roman villas show evidence of having been destroyed by fire. Freeman in "English Towns and Districts" says: "It is a striking fact that no ornamental Roman building is to be found standing above ground in Britain. Not a single perfect Roman column remains in its place throughout the whole land." Freeman attributes this destruction to the Saxons. He mentions that "among the ruins of one of the houses in Silchester, which had been destroyed by fire, stowed away it would seem with care in a secret place, was a legionary eagle broken away from its stem," and he suggests that the ensign had been retained by the Britons as a military emblem until the coming of the Saxons. A most unlikely supposition. And there was no earthly reason why the Saxons should take the trouble to cast down Roman columns and burn the vacated homesteads of the Roman colonists. They had never come into contact with the Romans, and owed them no grudge. The well-equipped villas of the Romans would have been very useful prizes for the new settlers.

The senseless devastation was

perpetrated immediately after the Romans left, by the natives, with their bitter memories of Roman domination and an unreasoning desire to vent their spleen on symbols of their subjection. In some instances outrages would be inflicted on isolated groups of people with Roman Associations.

No authority holds the view to-day that the Britons were wholly, or in large part, exterminated by the Saxons Sir Arthur Keith, regarded by Collingwood as the chief Authority on this subject, puts the question: "Do people of the Romano-British type occur in our modern population?" and goes on to say: "I would answer that Inquiry with a confident Yes -in very considerable numbers." Both Collingwood and Myres, in their recent two-part volume on Roman England, endorse this view. Collingwood writes:" On the whole, it is probable that the greater part of them (the Britons) were absorbed by degrees into the population of the English settlements." In his detailed analysis of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, Myres repeatedly refers to the survival in various districts, of native communities among those of the newcomers. Temperately, yet all the more weighty on that account, Thomas Hodgkin[29] writes: "It cannot be said that the tendency of recent inquirers is in favour of so strong an assertion as the entire obliteration of the British element In any part of the island. Physiological investigation, the measurement of skulls and the examination of graves do not confirm the hypothesis of the absolute disappearance anywhere of the pre-Saxon races."

But all this refusal of an extermination theory brings us back to the inability of the Celticists to account for the non-existence of Celtic words in the English language. If the invaders intermarried with British women - and beyond question they could not all have brought wives with them - the children would inevitably have grown up with at least as many British words as Saxon. Isaac Taylor, writing about the Scandinavian element in France, remarks that these conquerors of a considerable portion of French territory married native women, and their sons seem only to have learned the language spoken by their mothers, so that except in the neighbourhood of Bayeux, where the Norman speech was grafted on the near related and firmly established language of the Saxon Shore, the sons of the soil at no time spoke a Scandinavian dialect. In the same way, if the idea of a Celtic England before the Conquest is correct, a Celtic dialect acquired by the children of Celtic mothers should to-day be represented in the speech of England

Another effort to account for the absence of Celtic words in English has been put forward in a few quarters, but in the two most weighty instances with limitations which quite cancel the main argument. In 1861 Thomas Wright, in a volume of archaeological essays[94] contended that as a Roman dialect displaced the native speech in Gaul a similar change took place in England. But the Romanization of England never reached the degree of saturation that it did in Gaul and, therefore, the analogy does not hold good. Henry Charles Coote, F.S.A., published in 1864 a small volumel1 in which he argued that a large measure of Roman law and custom had come down to the present time from Roman rule in England. He held that the natives became Roman to the extent of adopting Latin speech wherever they came closely and continuously into contact with the Roman influence in the principal towns.
This is, in effect, also the view adopted by Haverfield - a later and very gifted commentator on the Roman period in England. But while, as Tacitus says, a liberal education was provided for the sons of British chiefs and the use of Latin encouraged among them, the greater mass of the natives had so little contact with the foreign rulers of the country that they must have continued in the use of their own language.
Although modern philology has eliminated supposed Celtic words from English speech, the Celticists still cling desperately to the idea that some of the old place-names and especially the names of English rivers are Celtic. But even here the ground is falling away from under their feet. James B. Johnston, in his comprehensive book on The Place-names of England and Wales," commences a chapter on the "Keltic Element" as follows: "Of all the problems connected with the place-names of England there are few so interesting and so intricate as those connected with the Keltic element - how much, or perhaps we should say how little, of the old British speech still survives in English place-names. On this subject much nonsense has been asserted, even by learned men who ought to have known better, or who, at any rate, should have been more careful about their facts before making such large claims for the Keltic element as they have. The truth, is, the deeper and more thorough the investigation the smaller seems the sure Keltic residuum, while very small indeed now is the group of names of which we can make nothing sure at all, though convinced that they must be either Keltic or pre-Keltic. There must be several pre-Keltic names in Wales, but in England they are confined chiefly, and possibly altogether, to a handful of river names." Ekwall,

A more recent writer on English place-names, takes up a somewhat similar attitude to Johnston on this subject.
Both of these authorities, while admitting the probability that some names may be pre-Celtic, fall into the usual attitude of regarding "the old British speech" as Celtic. It has to be remembered in this connection that, according to Celticists themselves, the Celtic element of Britain was only an addition to an older population.
Archaeology tells us that the older population was both numerous and well advanced in the fundamentals of civilization and possessed, as their skulls prove, of no low degree of intellectuality. Is it at all likely that such a people had no names for the natural features of their surroundings? And names of natural features are the most enduring forms of human speech. Certain types of place-names are so widely scattered throughout the world An to justify the conclusion that they came down from a very remote past, from a time before the human family had materially modified by separation its primal language.
The English rivers singled out as having Celtic names are those derived from the supposed Celtic term for water, much as the Eye, Esk, Usk, and Ouse. But "ea" and "ey" are also Nordic terms for water and are to be found in river names where the Celt, admittedly, never existed. Latham pointed out fifty years ago that "asca" is a common name for a river, in non-Celtic countries. Avon, as variously written and pronounced, is cognate with the non-Celtic terms, "aan" and "aun" ' for water. Dun is a stone age name, as its application to hills fortified by primitive ditch and rampart proves. Isaac Taylor in his “Words and Places” has pointed out that “dun” is imbedded in the names of some of the oldest towns in Germany, and Professor Heinrich Leo of Halle in a treatise on the local nomenclature of the Anglo-Saxons, remarks, incidentally, that "dun" is common in many German dialects. "Mor" the Welsh word for the sea, is claimed as a Celtic root of many words. Yet in various modification it is found in place-names all over the northern, non-Celtic parts of Europe. There is a Marstrand on the coast of Sweden.
Meer is German for lake. Mere-hwearf is an old English term for the sea, as is mere-flod, and instead of the Welsh word being a Celtic root it is much more likely to be only another of the numerous Welsh borrowings from English. Don is asserted to be a Celtic name for several rivers in Britain; Are we to regard the Russian Don and the German Donau as Celtic also?
With the neolithic and pre-Celtic inhabitants of Britain no longer ignored, but given in our history books their due

place in the formation of the race and speech, the Celtic myth will fade out of existence. It remains now to be shown that the English people and their speech directly descend from a pre-historic Nordic ancestry.

CHAPTER 8.

ANCIENT NORDIC ENGLAND.

I

The West and the East.

From a time too remote to be stated with any certainty, Britain was inhabited by various and successive races of primitive human beings, who, for one unknown reason or another, ultimately passed out of existence. It is not until we come down to the Neolithic, or New Stone Age, characterized by well-shaped and smoothly-ground tools And weapons of stone, that some degree of definite knowledge, and grounds for certain deductions, have been provided by antiquarian research.

In the Neolithic Age the inhabitants of Britain comprised mainly, two different types of people. The western part, and more particularly the south-west of England, was occupied by a short, brunette race which had drifted northward in the course of many centuries along the shores of western Europe from the Mediterranean. At a much Inter period of time Phoenician traders and prospectors for precious metals and metallic ores, belonging to the name race, came by sea to Western Britain and settled there in considerable numbers. They probably introduced the elements of the Druidic religion, and caused the erection of the wonderful megalithic monuments of Avebury and Stonehenge. There are no similar structures in Eastern England, and not until the Roman legions reached the western parts is any mention made of Druids by the Roman historian. Naturally, the speech of this Mediterranean or Iberic element was cognate with other dialects used by the people living around the Great Central Sea, and is recognized as the basis of modern Welsh.

The Neolithic inhabitants of eastern and midland England belonged to a distinctly different race from those

in the west. They were taller and more strongly built and fair-complexioned. Both types were long-skulled, and must have possessed a degree of brain power quite equal to that of modern European man.

Towards the close of the Neolithic period in Britain or about 2000 B.C. the more accessible parts of the land carried a comparatively dense population which had advanced to a fair degree of civilized life. The dog, horse, ox, pig, and sheep had been domesticated; wheat, barley and millet were cultivated; a coarse pottery was manufactured; wool, and probably flax, were spun and woven into cloth. Family groups and clans lived together, sometimes in settlements of considerable size - one excavated site is estimated to have had five thousand inhabitants.

While general agreement is expressed regarding the Mediterranean origin of the people of western England, almost complete silence has been maintained about the possible racial affinities of the neolithic inhabitants the rest of the country, comprising four fifths of total area. The reason for this silence is not far to seek The result of such an inquiry might, and does, come into conflict with certain Celticist prepossessions, and writers of the same school as Rhys discreetly begin the history of England with the alleged coming of the Celts, at a comparatively late period, and at the most give the older inhabitants very perfunctory notice.

Scandinavia supplies several clues to the determining of who the Neolithic people of eastern England were. Scandinavian authorities are agreed, and their views endorsed by other European students, that the pedigree of the present population of Scandinavia dates back to Neolithic times. That country was entered during the Stone Age by a branch of what was known at the commencement of the historic period as the Gothic race, widely spread throughout Europe in many subdivisions with various names, and probably descended from what is known as the Cro-Magnon type of early mankind. The Achaeans of Homer, a tall, fair people, must have belonged to this race. Another branch appears even to have reached India, for if the evidences of philology are to be accept the ancient Sanscrit language of that country is link up in the Indo-European group of languages with those of north-western Europe. And physically, what may be called the aristocratic element of the Indian population is closely akin to the European Nordics.

At what point of time in the Neolithic Age the Nord of Scandinavia entered the pertinent parts of Europe cannot be stated with any exactitude. The furthest back

dating of their arrival appears to be that of Professor Scott-Elliot who in "Prehistoric Man and his Story" (published in 1920), speaks of the Danes of Schleswig-Holstein as a typical Northern race "exposed to the rigours of a Baltic climate for probably 20,000 years." Other authorities put the entry of the Nordics into Scandinavia much later, but all are agreed that this people was in occupation of the country during many centuries of the Neolithic Age, which came to an end in North-western Europe with the advent of Bronze about 2000 years B.C.

It is an accepted fact that, until quite late in the structural evolution of Europe, Britain was part of the Continent. H. J. Mackinder in "Britain and the British Seas" (1902), says the British Isles are "a fragment of the neighbouring continent and have been divided from it only in a recent epoch." In a symposium by leading anthropologists ("Early Man," 1931), Professor Parsons says "the Beaker Folk, sometimes known as the Bronze Age People, came into the country about 2000 B.C. probably while Britain was still connected with the continent."

Now, if Scandinavia received its population, as it must have done, from Eastern or Central Europe while Britain was still part of the Continent, is it at all likely that the movement was directed only to the north-western fringe, and did not also take a more natural course directly westward, along a plain which subsequently became the North Sea, into Britain? There is no essential difference between the Neolithic archaeology of Scandinavia and Eastern Britain, which strongly suggests that the people were identical and that their settlements were not separated by any space of time. The Celticist theory of a Celtic Immigration into Britain dates its beginnings no further back than 1000 B.C. - that is, well into the Bronze Age. The Celts are invariably referred to as bringing the Bronze period into Britain. Who then were the older non-Celtic Neolithic inhabitants of Eastern England? They were not Alpines, for these were a broad-headed race, and the Neolithic people of Eastern England were, in the main, long-headed and in that respect similar to the Nordics of Scandinavia. No other conclusion appears to be possible than that in the same period an identical people entered Scandinavia and Britain, in the latter case taking possession of the eastern side of England, and a similar area of Scotland.

The immigration of broad-headed men during the Bronze Age did not materially alter the situation. These were comparatively few in number and were absorbed by the older and more numerous population, as the gradual

modification of the brachy-cephalic types of skull in ancient British graves indicates. The broad type of skull is not uncommon in Scandinavia, but the fact remains that the great bulk of the population of England and Scandinavia shows strong evidence of a common Nordic ancestry. And although differences of speech have crept in since, it was so similar in the eleventh century that a Norseman fleeing from the battle of Stamford Bridge had a conversation with an English peasant which was tragically ended by the slaying of the native because he refused to hand over his warm coat.

A remarkable piece of evidence regarding the Nordic character of the English and their language during the Roman period is contained in a statement by Tacitus which, because of its utter incompatibility with the Celtic theory, has been put aside as probably a mistake of the Roman writer.

In his "Germania" Tacitus says that there was a people on the shores of the Baltic - the Aesti - whose speech resembled the British tongue (lingua Britanniae propior). If, according to the orthodox view, the speech of Britain at that time was Celtic, there is no likelihood whatever that a similar speech existed in the very heart of Nordic Europe. But the position entirely changes if, as is now and long claimed, the English in the time of Tacitus, and long before, were Nordic in race and speech. In this case only does the Roman historian's statement become credible, but it is supported by circumstances which indicate that it was based on well-known facts.

The name Aestii is beyond question Nordic, and belonged appropriately, to a people living in the eastern Baltic region, along the shores which produced the greater part of the amber so much prized in Rome. Roman vessels regularly visited this Aestian Coast of the Baltic to trade with the natives for amber. There was also much business done in the ports of south-eastern England whence cargoes of grain were transported to Italy. What more likely

than that Roman vessels after collecting as much amber from the Aestii as was obtainable, called at one or other of the English ports to fill up with the products of the English wheatfields? It would be a decided convenience to the traders that the speech of the English and the Aestii was similar, and we may be sure that the circumstance was common knowledge on the wharves of Ostia, where Tacitus probably acquired much of the material he incorporated in his "Germania" concerning Northern Europe. Thus Tacitus makes a casual remark which none the less furnishes a striking proof that the people of

England were, even in the supposedly Celtic period, using _ Nordic Speech.

II

Women.

"Aristotle describes it as a specialty of the warlike tribes beyond the Kelts or Gauls, that they were often governed by women." (Pearson: History of England during the Early and Middle Ages.)
In Celtic communities women were never allowed to occupy positions of leadership in public affairs. This was exclusively the province of the men. But the contrary was the case among the Nordics. Here women wereaccorded a standing and an influence quite equal to the men, and frequently they reached by popular consent or by heritage the position of ruling queens. There are two English instances recorded by the Roman historian. Cartismandua was queen of the powerful tribe of Brigantes In Northern England, and the noted- or infamous, according to the Roman view - Boadicea, became queen of the east country Iceni on the death of her husband Prasutagus. She was typically Nordic in appearance, tall, with yellow hair flowing down to her girdle, and Dio Cassius in further stating that she had a stern visage, fierce eyes and a harsh voice, was only recording from the Roman point of view the natural results of the wrongs the had suffered and her capacity for leadership against cruelty and oppression.

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CHAPTER 9.

LINKS WITH THE MAINLAND.

As has already been pointed out, none of the ancient classical authors whose writings about Britain have come down to us, spoke of the inhabitants as Celts. Pytheas, the earliest of all, a careful observer and a much travelled person (and it is clear from the few excerpts from his book which have been preserved. that he made himself well acquainted with Britain) saw nothing in the people or their speech to link them up with continental Celticae, and, in effect, said so. Caesar, however, is claimed by Celticists as doing this when he mentions the Belgae as having made extensive settlements in England, on the wounds that the Belgae were Celts. But Caesar's remarks concerning the Belgae, so far from supporting the view that they were Celts, directly refute it. The Belgae are said by Caesar to have been of German origin, and though his knowledge of European ethnology was by no means of a scientific nature, he has added to this other and more conclusive reasons for differentiating the Belgae from the Celts. In the opening passage of his book on the Gallic War so familiar to schoolboy beginners in Latin, Caesar says: "Gaul is all divided into three parts, one of which is inhabited by the Belgae, another by the Aquitani, and a third by a people called in their own tongue Celtae, in the Latin Galli. All these are different from one another in language, institutions and laws." In what more emphatic language could the separateness of three communities have been expressed? Note that Caesar begins his statement of the differences with "language" - the most important und definite distinction of all. Strabo, writing later, makes the difference of language merely one of "dialect." If so, why did Caesar not use that term instead of "language"? In Latin the two words have a significance much further apart than in English, and Caesar's characteristic precision

of expression and more intimate knowledge of the subject make him much the better authority than Strabo, who wrote merely from hearsay.

Celsius, who flourished in the reign of Tiberius, that is, in the first century. A.D. says that the Belgae were indignant when they heard themselves called Gauls.

Coming down to modern times, continental scholars do not favour the theory that the Belgae were Celts. Eugene Pittard, a French authority, says in his volume of "The History of Civilization" series: "All we know of the Belgae of this period (the Roman), that is, of the names that have been preserved - the Menapii, Nervii, Tungri, etc. - leads us to think of them as of the Germanic race.'

Halbertsma, a capable student of Netherlands history, literature and antiquities, contributed an essay on the subject to Bosworth's Anglo Saxon Dictionary, in which he shows conclusively that the Frisians, the most typical element of the Belgic people, are Nordic in race. "From the time of Caesar to this very day," he writes, "among the endless revolutions of nations, they (the Frisians) have never changed their name or the place of their residence." He adduces numerous proofs of the antiquity of Frisian speech of whose essentially Nordic character there can be no doubt whatever. It is the nearest of all the Nordic forms of speech, at the present day, to English, as is proclaimed in the well-known couplet-

Bread, butter and cheese,
Is good English and good Friese.

Dr. Blok, Professor of Dutch history in the University of Leyden, in his "History of the People of the Netherlands," says that "the Belgic question does not admit of any argument, the people whether known as Belgi, Friesic, or Batavii, having developed from the races of north-western Germany."

Dealing with the insistence of Celticist writers in Britain that the Belgae were Celtic, Coote, in the "Romans of Britain" hits the nail on the head. "There is no excuse." he says, "for the unaccountable but prevailing mistake of confounding Belgae with Celts. The reason, at any rate, is not far to seek. When it was the almost universally held view that all Britain in pre-Roman days was Celtic, the Belgae who inhabited both the northern part of Gaul and a portion of the south of England had to be Celtic to fit in with the prevailing theory."

The significance of the names of the native British leaders as given by the Roman writers, is an extraordinarily difficult problem. The only thing that can be said of them with any certainty is that with one exception they have

been Latinized beyond all recognition. The inscriptions on some of the native coins only add to the difficulty. liven when issued before the Roman occupation, as some of these coins were, they sometimes have in the inscription the Latin word "filius" abbreviated as "fil" and "file," while "rex" or "rix" is quite frequent. The latter term may be Nordic. On the coins of Cunobeline, Roman deities Are figured, and Sir John Evans suggests that the engravers were either Roman or had been trained in Roman workshops. In this connection Rice Holmes says that even before the Roman conquest Britain had begun to be Romanized. Roman trade and culture would be welcomed by progressive native rulers and in the peaceful years preceding hostilities it may have become quite fashionable amongst the upper classes to give their names I Roman complexion. Be this as it may, the British names recorded by Roman historians are not only Latinized, but the impossibility of adapting the Latin alphabet to some of the sounds of native speech added other complications.

Professor Rhys, as may be expected, regards these native names as Celtic and shows much ingenuity in supplying them with alleged Celtic roots. But in suggest-ing, as he frequently does, two or more alternative Interpretations - some of them the wildest of guesses - he reveals a wavering and uncertainty which fail to carry conviction. As a matter of fact, these British names, so far as they are capable of dissection, show Nordic rather than Celtic features. The first syllable of the name of Caesar's great opponent, Cassivelaunus, is obviously tribal. The Cassi or Catti were a Belgic people and, therefore, as we have seen, Nordic. "Vel,"' "Val," "Bel", is a common element in ancient Scandinavian names. Valhalla is the "hall of the heroes." "Aun" may be "agan" or "Aegen" a vocable common to all Nordic languages, the equivalent of the modern word "own. "Thus Cassivelaunus probably means "the leader of, or belonging to, the Cassi."
In Cunobelinus we have the Nordic "bel" associated with another undoubtedly Nordic word "cuno," otherwise "Cyning" or "Konung" _ "a king."'
The names of two princes who ruled in the south-east of England and whose coins have been quite frequently found, seem Nordic.
"Eppillus" is probably "Eoppa" Latinized, and "Verica" suggests "Eric
The Christian Council at Arles, summoned by Constantine the Great in A.D. 314, was attended by three bishops from England. Their names are given as Restitutus, Eborius, and Adelphius. The first is a Latin

designation, the second while also Latin has a Nordic root, being «noble.
a boar - the third is directly Nordic, Aedelbeing ‘noble’.
There is one other name which the Romans left very nearly in its native form, either because it did not lend itself to Latinizing, or because it was considered advisable to leave the designation of a hated and ruthless enemy of Rome in its barbarous native form. Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, who led the terrible rebellion which for a time gravely menaced the Roman dominion of England, has n designation which is, beyond question, Nordic. The first syllable of Boadicea (native form, Boudicca) is derived from a very primitive root. "bod." found, with variations, in all Nordic tongues. "Bodian." in old English, is to deliver an order, and a "bod-word" is a "bidding" _ in Icelandic, one of the purest of Nordic languages. The second syllable "ic" indicates the tribal connection with "Iceni." Boadicea is therefore the Commander of the Iceni. Whether this queen had another and more personal name, we know not, but assuming the leadership of her people, they, in all probability, gave her this designation - Nordic and English. She was a type that the so-called Celtic parts of Britain never produced.
Two of the tribal names, as given by the Romans, appear capable of analysis and both give Nordic reactions. Cenomanni, or Cenimagni as Latinized, is an alternative name of the Iceni, and adds to the proof that these people were Nordic. It is equated with the Germanic Alemanni and Marcomanni in its suffix "manni," and no juggling with Welsh words such as "maen" - a stone - can make it any other than the root we embody to-day in the word "kinsmen," which is the actual modern equivalent of "Cenomanni."
The Bibroci, mentioned in Roman history, "beaver" people. The word is Nordic and its association with a particular tribe goes back to prehistoric times when an animal cult seems to have been very general. The blazon of a bird or an animal on a Nordic shield was perpetuation of the primitive idea.

CHAPTER 10.

ROMAN LEGACIES.

I

The Ubiquitous Suffix.

Hodgkin[28] says in his "History of the Anglo-Saxons" that the one certain carry-over from Roman to Anglo-Saxon Britain is the Latin word "*Castra*." Why Castra and no other words should have survived into Anglo-Saxon times does not appear at all clear, and Hodgkin's dictum will be challenged immediately. Meanwhile, it can be shown that even this single word stands in the way of accepting the view that the speech of the natives of Roman Britain was Celtic. We are told that this speech was Cymric, or at least a form of Cymric of which another form is Welsh. The Cymric equivalent of "castra" is “caer" a term applied in Wales from very ancient times to the sites of Roman castles and camps. If "caer" had been similarly used in England proper, before the coming the Anglo-Saxons, these strangers to the Roman tongue, making their first acquaintance with Roman fortifications on their arrival in England, would either have adopted the word "caer" or applied one of their own such as brugh" or "rath." They did neither. The Anglo-Saxon name for a Roman camp is "caestre." By what mysterious process did the invaders get a name so close to the Latin original - much closer than "caer"? It could only have been given currency by a non-Cymric people who had picked up the term directly from the mouths of the Roman legionaries. These, as is still the custom among soldiers today, would call the military station where they were quartered not by its official name, but just simply "the camp."Thus with singular unanimity throughout the length and breadth of England, exclusive of Wales, Roman

strongholds were correctly identified and called "caestres," modified subsequently by the Normans into "chesters." who also introduced a "chester" or two into Scotland. There were large numbers of native hill-forts scattered throughout the country, some of them difficult, in their conformation, to differentiate from the Roman structures. Yet none of these was called "caestre." Without a contemporary acquaintance with the Roman strongholds and their garrisons, and without a common speech among the natives the word "caestre" could not have become throughout England the slight native modification of the Latin "Castra." The theory of the supposed Anglo-Saxon Conquest makes it a movement into England of several bodies of invaders, using different dialects, operating independently, and sometimes fighting one another over a period of a hundred years. In these circumstances the Roman strongholds would have been called at random by half a dozen different names. The word "caestre" undoubtedly comes down from Roman times and its uniform and correct application throughout England is not only strong disproof of the Celtic theory, but also casts grave doubts on the reality of an Anglo-Saxon Conquest.

II
More Tell-tale Place-names.

Grant Allen, in "Country and Town in England," after mentioning nine Roman towns whose names have survived to the present day, remarks that "the Teutonic pirates, as we know so well, massacred every living soul within them; yet, oddly enough, in every case made a correct guess at their Roman names, notwithstanding, and continued to call them by those names ever after." That the inhabitants were all massacred is a very gratuitous assumption, but there is definite evidence that several of these cities remained desolate and unoccupied for centuries after the Romans left. How in these circumstances the supposed newcomers seized on and perpetuated the strange names is, as Allen perceives, very difficult to explain. But by getting away from orthodox notions a reasonable explanation is not only possible but proofs of its correctness are available.

Of English towns which have retained their Roman designations there are at least double the number than is given by Allen. A few of these names were originated by the Romans, being applied to places not previously occupied by the natives. But the great majority of the Roman stations were places of strength that the Romans seized and occupied, and continued to call by their native names, that is, as nearly as the sounds and letters of the Latin language permitted. In this way the native names were sometimes distorted beyond modern recognition. Still, when the fanciful efforts of Celticist etymologists are put aside, a number of these names can be elucidated, and the result is surprising.

Let us begin, appropriately, with London. This is always assumed to be a Celtic name, though, as usual, the Celticists are not agreed amongst themselves as to its origin. The most favoured explanation is that the name is compounded of two words "lyn" and "dun" the lake-fort. Unfortunately for this derivation, there does not appear to have been a lake at all near the original site of the city. And in any case, Lyn or "Lon" is just another borrowing of an old Nordic word "logn." In its original sense this word meant a lonely place, which in primitive times a lake or marsh was. Lewis Spence, in "Legendary London," says that "Lyn-din" is pure modern Welsh, and, therefore, rejects this as the ancient form of London. Other Celtic roots suggested are personal and tribal names - more evidence of the fluidity of Celtic philology.

The latest archaeological investigations indicate that the site of primitive London was a gravelly terrace overlooking the Thames and surrounded in all probability by forest country. This gives a definite clue to the meaning of the name. As already shown, "dun" is a very old term, quite common in non-Celtic countries, and the first syllable Lond or "lund," is a Nordic, word signifying a grove. Thus Lond-don is the fort in the grove or wood. Lund enters frequently into names in Scandinavia. There is a Lunden in Denmark, Lund in Sweden, and Lunder in Norway.

Camalodunum, now Colchester, was an important Roman centre in England. The name is obviously an adaptation of a native designation. Celtic philologists derive it from Camulos, a Celtic deity. There is a Mars Camulos recorded in Roman Gaul as one of the native gods, identified with the Roman god of war. But as even Rhys equates Camulos with the German Himmel he may be as much Nordic as Celtic. His identification with Camalodunum is a mere guess, and it is therefore quite permissible to suggest other possible derivations for the name of this city. Camb

is an ancient English word for a ridge and Camalodunum stood on such an elevation. There is another word common to England and Scandinavia, "gamle" meaning "old" and Camalodunum may have been an old native stronghold even in pre-Roman times. The first syllable of the name is reduplicated in circumstances which suggest that it is not Celtic, nor from Camulos. There is Gamlingay in Cambridgeshire and Gamelsby in Cumberland, both names being classified by authorities as Saxon. There is also a Gambelby in Sweden, and a Camlakerby in Finland.

Dubris is the Latin name for Dover. Here again we find the name equated in Scandinavia. There is a Dover in Denmark, Dovre in Norway, and the Dovrefeld is one of the oldest territorial designations in that country.

Cantium (Kent), being admittedly a Romanized native name, many attempts have been made to give it a Celtic root. As usual the Celticists fail to agree among themselves. But "kante" is to-day the German name for a corner, or headland, which correctly describes the topographical relation of Kent to the rest of England.

Can there be any doubt but that this is the correct clue to the Romanized name of Kent?

Uriconium, now Wroxeter, is another Latinized native name. Its identity with the Wrekin hills overlooking the city is obvious. Ptolemy in the second century mentions Ouirokonian. The ninth century Nennius refers to this district under the name of Ercing, and though he cannot be accepted as a reliable historian, in this instance he was speaking as a contemporary and probably with local knowledge. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that in the tenth century a Scandinavian "host" captured the bishop of Ircinga-feld, and this name is certainly preserved in Archenfield, in the Wrekin district. Ircing or Ercing (with the "c" hard), Wrekin and Uriconium are all names of common origin. Here then have we not an "Ing"-lish people in settled occupation of an extensive territory, and giving their name to a Roman town at least two centuries before any Englishman is supposed, in the popular histories, to have set foot in the country? So much for the theory that pre-Roman Britain was Celtic.

Utocetum (again hard “c”), now Utoxeter, contains the root "ox." common in many English place-names. Needless to say this is a Nordic word. "Dor,"found in several Romano-English names, is the English "door" used in its primitive sense of an entrance, an opening in a forest, a way through a valley.

If a Roman tried to reproduce in Latin an English name embodying the word "thorn." a tree which was a

common and ancient land-mark, the nearest he would be able to get to it would be "dorn" or "durn." Accordingly we have the Roman town Durnovaria (Dorchester), in which name, it may also be pointed out is the suffix "ware" n tribe or people, though the term is always held to have been introduced by the Anglo-Saxons.

Eburacum (York) is an outstanding instance of the adoption by the Romans of a native name, and Celtic etymologists have shown much ingenuity in endeavouring to avoid the conclusion which stares them in the face, namely, that this designation has a good old English root. Layamon says that Eboracum is derived from King Ebrau, a purely imaginary person, invented, as was the custom, with mediaeval historians, to account for an important place-name. It is also traced to alleged Celtic roots such As the Irish "ebrauch" _ muddy, and "abar"_a marsh, though the appositeness of such terms to York, perched high and dry, is open to doubt. Irish "ibar"_a yew, is also suggested, and a colony of Eburones of Belgium is mentioned as the possible founders of the city. But the Belgae were not Celtic. An alleged Gaulish word "eburos," which, however, is a borrowing from the Latin has also been put forward as a possible Celtic root of Eburacum.

The significant thing about these proposed derivations is that, for once, a Welsh root has not been suggested. Yet seeing that Cymric speech is supposed to have been used by the Britons of pre-Roman England, one would expect a root from this language to be readily forthcoming. This failure is not capable of an explanation from the Celticist standpoint, but it can be shown that a Nordic root is embodied in the Latin Eburacum.

The wild boar, fierce and strong, was a favourite symbol of several Nordic peoples. The skin of the boar's head often decorated the helmet of the warrior, the jaw part being fastened under the chin. So common was this practice that eventually eafor became a synonym for a helmet. It is not without significance also that Tacitus notes boar helmets as characteristic of the Aestii, the Baltic people he inadvertently identifies with the English of his day by the similarity of their speech. The fierce and warlike Brigantes, who had made the ridge overlooking the river Ouse one of their principal strongholds, called it Eafor-wic - the town of the wild boar, eafor being the Old English and also Nordic name of this animal. There are several place-names throughout England in which this obsolete name for the boar is found, Everton, Everleigh, Eversden, etc. It has been suggested that the Latin "aper," which also means a boar, may have something to

do with Eboracum. In that case the name must have been spelt with a "p", and "ac" added to "aper" would have been an absurdity in Latin. The only reasonable determination of Eboracum is that it is the Latinized form of Eaforwic, in which the "w" sound has a tendency to disappear, as may be noticed by pronouncing the name a few times in succession. After the Romans left, the original form of the name came back into use - probably it had never lapsed among the natives. To it was sometimes added "ceastre" as in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle - evidence that the place was remembered as a Roman castrum.
Sorbiodunum in Wiltshire was another British strength captured by the Romans. In this instance, the steep isolated hill still showing the traces of native fortifications, has several analogues in Scandinavia. There is also a Sourby in Lancashire and two Sowerbys in Yorkshire. The latter names are not likely to be older than the Danish invasions, but if introduced by the Northmen, they can only be Nordic, and thus it is to be deduced that Sorbio-dunum must be a Latinized Nordic name also.

Carlisle is a singular instance of a Welsh name having been substituted for an older one embodied in the Roman name Luguvallium. This undoubtedly. contains the old English word "lucu"- an enclosure, a fortress. How the change took place to Carleol, is a mystery. It may have been due to the influence of Nennius who writes of Caer Ligualia, which comes pretty near to Luguvalli and also may have originated Carleol. The Welsh caer or car is not derived from castrum. It is a Nordic word, to be found, with a great many other so-called Welsh words, in the vocabulary of the Goths.
The Roman name of the fortress of Deva (the modern Chester) is one of a small number which have entirely lapsed. The place lay waste for centuries. In King Alfred's time, six hundred years after the Romans had left, it was described as a "waste ceastre." Bede, in the seventh century, mentions "Civitas Legionum, which by the English is called Legacestir, but by the Britons more rightly Carlegion."
• Bede here uses "Britons" as synonymous with "Welsh," as he does throughout his Ecclesiastical History, much to the confusion of his own writing and that of subsequent authors. From his point of view the Welsh name would be the older of the two, which is what in effect he says. But if the Welsh name is the older how did it come about that the English later called the place Legacestir? In this form of the name there are two very significant words - Legion and castrum, both modified by English tongues, but which correctly expressed

the situation in the Roman times. The place had been occupied by a Roman legion for many years. Yet we are asked to believe that the supposed invaders from the Baltic not only got to know this after the lapse of at least a century, but that they also took the Latin word and used it in making their name of the place. It is not possible that such a name could have been hit upon Legacestir except by contemporary natives hearing "legio," and "castrum" (in one or other of its varying case endings) from the legionaries themselves, and then putting the two words together, to make their own apposite designation of the Roman fortress.

It is again beyond the bounds of probability that the Roman town of Lincoln - Lindum - should have acquired from invaders who were utter strangers to the Roman language, the name of Lindo-colonia as given by Bede. The Romans themselves do not appear to have used this compound designation. "Coln" is an English abbreviation of the Latin word, frequently further shortened to "col" and is found in a number of English place-names. Here is another instance of a putting together by the natives in Roman times of two appellations that they probably heard used separately by the Romans themselves living in the town. Now it would be "Lindum" and now "the colony.". Lincoln could only have got that form of name from English-speaking contemporaries of the Romans.

There was a Roman Segelocum in what is now Lincolnshire and a Segedunum adjacent to the eastern end of the Wall of Hadrian. For the roots of such names, failing other derivations, an imaginary Celtic god or equally mythical Celtic leader can always be provided. But identical names may have arisen in different parts of England from similar local conditions. Marshes were frequent and extensive in ancient Britain, and often formed the natural protection of native villages. Sedges would grow abundantly in such localities, and the old English for sedge is "segg." Segedunum and Segelocum may very easily be derived from this word, and in the latter case, the suffix "locum" making it "the place of the sedges, adds probability to this conjecture.

Taken almost at random throughout England, a sufficient number of Romano-British place-names have been analysed to show that they can be resolved into Nordic origins much more reasonably, and naturally than Celtic. Even if only a small proportion are definitely to be recognized as Nordic - and this will probably be conceded in unprejudiced quarters - the whole case for a Celtic England in Roman and pre-Roman times goes by the

board. And there is yet another phase of the philological issue to be considered which materially strengthens the Nordic argument.

III

Other Romano-British Words.

There are many words of Latin origin in the English language, but the question as to what proportion of these comes down from Roman times is not readily to be determined.

The usual view is that the great bulk of the introductions was brought about by the mediaeval church-men, and that few, if indeed any, date back to the Roman period. Hodgkin, as we have seen, admits only a solitary instance - the so-called Anglo-Saxon word "caestre" from the Latin "castrum." But to admit even a single instance is, in effect, to surrender the pass, for if that word survived there is no reason why others should not have maintained their ground also.

Skeat, in his "Principles of English Etvmology" admits that such words as «port" from "portus" and "wall" from "vallum" may have been learnt from the Britons by their supplanters, the Anglo-Saxons. But such words as "straet" from "strata," "cycene" (kitchen) from "coquina," "mill" from "mola,"' "cylin" (kiln) from "culina," certainly look as if they also go back to the Roman period.

There is one compound word which bears on its face the testimony that it was formed during the Roman occupation. The native houses in those days, and long before, were roofed with thatch. When their builders and occupants saw the Romans making and using roofing tiles they, naturally, took note of the innovation, and learning that the Roman name for one of those plates of burnt clay was "tegula"_ a word that had no significance to the natives, they indicated for themselves its purpose by calling it a "thack-tigel" - a thatch-tile. That this curious word was compounded in Roman times by contemporary natives cannot, reasonably, be questioned. Certain it is that the Anglo-Saxons could not have invented it. Here is the conclusion to be deduced. "Thack" is a Nordic word, found in the speech of Iceland, which with old English, embodies the most ancient and pure forms of this group of

languages.
Here then is more good evidence that the
Britons of the Roman occupation used a Nordic tongue, in other words, they spoke, not some kind of Celtic dialect, but English.

IV

Laws and Customs.

The prevailing opinion in the nineteenth century regarding English origins was that these commenced in all their phases race, language, laws and social customs-with the advent of the Anglo-Saxons into the country. The publication, in 1864, of Coote's first volume entitled "A Neglected Fact in English History" was a direct challenge to this theory - very ill-received by the leading authorities of the day, Stubbs and Freeman. They could not fail to see that their position had been outflanked by this "innovator" who showed that much Anglo-Saxon polity was a continuation from Roman times. While admitting that Coote maintained his contention with learning and acuteness." Stubbs intemperately denounced "the monstrous conclusions of the book; so monstrous, so dead in the teeth of recorded history that one is tempted to regard the argument as a joke"- which language looks like the bluster of a person who found himself unable to refute the new ideas. Freeman also attacked the daring heretic, but so far from being silenced by his critics, Coote, a few years later, again assailed the orthodox theory in an enlarged volume entitled "The Romans of Britain," in which he elaborated his arguments and produced additional proofs for his case. This book, though marred by an undue emphasis placed on the Romanization of England, is a work of much scholarship and research, and such an authority in recent times as Seebohm says that "Coote has done service in recalling attention .to the evidences which remain of the survival of Roman influences in English institutions, even though it may be true that some of his conclusions require reconsideration." Coote's arguments are for the most part of a technical character. They abound in quotations from Roman sources regarding such matters as the centuriation and agrimentation of land, the details of which cannot be followed here. Coote

insisted on the impossibility of barbarians who had never been in contact, in their original homes, with Roman civilization, being able to reconstitute in England after a lapse of periods running, in some instances, into a century, the minutiae of Roman law and custom.

In the "History of England during the Early and Middle Ages," Professor Pearson strongly emphasizes the continuity of Roman law and custom into Anglo-Saxon times. He writes: "The meetings of the decuriones passed gradually into Saxon gemots….. The basilica, or cour-de-justice, was transferred in Saxon times into the Guildhall, where questions of law and fact came in later centuries to be again decided on a transfigured Roman original . .In all matters of police and sales in towns the practice of Roman times lasted into Saxon centuries. The feudal distinctions of rank, the lord, the vassal and the serf, are all continued as the Saxons found them when they We owe a vantage ground of six centuries of inherited law and custom to our Roman conquerors."

The two great authorities on the ancient English land system are Seebohm and Vinagradoff. They. differ considerably from each other in the details of their views, but both recognize a considerable degree of survival from Roman times in English law and custom.

It has to be remarked, however, that the acknowledgment of what England owes in these respects to Rome still leaves unsolved the problem of how the separate bands of invaders picked up and wove so uniformly into their social system the broken threads of the Roman fabric. It is only the theory of an English population continuing from Roman times, which satisfactorily meets this case, as it does in many other instances of apparently insoluble problems encountered in the orthodox writing of the country's history.

It may be pointed out here that the frequent occurrence of the word "Wylise" or "Wealh" in such old English laws as those of the Ine has no reference at all to any Welsh people. The term in its original sense meant "thrall" and referred to a class which constituted a considerable element in ancient English communities. Later it was applied to the Welsh people in a depreciatory sense.

CHAPTER 11.

THE ENGLAND THE ROMANS LEFT.

I

External Aggression.

As an almost necessary preliminary to an Anglo-Saxon conquest the raids on England during the later years of the Roman occupation have been given quite undue emphasis in history.

The fourth century was well advanced before the raids assumed any magnitude. From the beginning of the third century to the middle of the fourth England enjoyed a large measure of peace and prosperity, little disturbed, it would appear, by usurpers such as Carausius and Allectus - Roman commanders, who taking advantage of their position assumed and exercised for a time, the rule of England. Professor Oman, a weighty authority on early English history, speaks of this period of a hundred and fifty years as «probably quite prosperous for Roman Britain."

"It would have been fruitless," he adds, "for Cumenius to write of its lively seaports, its wealth in corn and cattle, its numerous mines, its large revenues, if all had been laid waste either by the barbarian or by civil strife."

In 367 the Scots entered England and defeated and slew the Commander of the northern Roman forces. Almost simultaneously the Count of the Saxon Shore met the same fate at the hands of "German pirates." Apparently the raiders both by sea and land had caught the Roman authorities napping - the consequences of a lengthy interval of inactivity and peace. Plundering bands scattered all over the country and the situation was chaotic. But, in the following year, a capable Roman leader - Theodosius - arrived, and taking judicious and

vigorous measures, soon restored order. He appears to have met with no concerted opposition, which largely din-counts the statement of Marcellinus that the attacks were planned and carried out as the result of a barbarian conspiracy.
On one other occasion, some thirty years later, the Roman general, Stilicho, sent troops from the continent to assist in driving out raiders from the north country, and from that time until the legions were withdrawn in 410 the situation of England appears to have been quite normal. Most certainly it was not the state of affairs in Britain which led to the evacuation. That was a movement necessitated by the pressure of Rome's enemies on the continent and was probably regarded at the time as no more than a temporary arrangement. The injunction of the Emperor Honorius to the Britons to defend themselves does not, by any means, suggest the permanent abandonment of the island, but rather, that in thin emergency the inhabitants should take the full responsibility for the national security, and were regarded by the military advisers of the young Emperor as quite capable of undertaking the task.
A wretched slander represents the Britons, at this juncture, as a race of spiritless cowards. Had they been such the Romans would not have recruited them during the latter days of the Empire for their fierce battles on the mainland. If these Britons could fight well in Gaul for Rome. surely they would comport themselves quite as creditably in their own country, fighting for hearth and home. That every attack on England had been successfully repelled must have been due in no small degree to native levies.
It is certain that at no time during the Roman occupation did any permanent settlement in England result from overseas invasions.

II

The Aboriginal Saxons.

While still adhering in a general way to the Celtic theory, several writers on ancient British history have expressed the opinion that before the usually accepted commencement of the Anglo-Saxon invasions, and even before the Roman period, there was what they call a

Saxon people in occupation of portions of eastern England. This view is usually based on an entry in the official Roman record known as the Notitia Imperii, compiled towards the end of the fourth century. This entry refers to an officer with the title of "Comes Litoris Saxonic per Britannias" (Count of the Saxon Shore in Britain). Pronounced Celticists like Dr. Guest found no difficulty in explaining the expression as recording the appointment of an official whose duty it was to guard the shore liable to attack by the Saxons. But there were other authorities of standing who denied the correctness of this explanation and contended that the territory indicated must have been inhabited by a Saxon population.

In 1834 Johann Martin Lappenberg published in Germany "Gesichte von England," republished in an English translation in 1845 as a "History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings." While concentrating chiefly on the Anglo-Saxon period, Lappenberg - going back incidentally to Roman times - objects to the usual meaning attached to the term Litoris Saxonis per Britannias. "The prevailing opinion," he says, "that the Litus Saxonicum borrowed its name from the enemy to whose attacks it was exposed, appears as contrary to the principles of sound philology as it is unhistorical," and he goes on to point out, as proof of his contention, that there was also a Litus Saxonicum in Belgica Secunda, admittedly so named from the permanent occupation of the tract by Saxons.

In 1849, J. M. Kemble published "The Saxons in England." a comprehensive study of Saxon institutions. He maintains very strongly that Saxon settlements were established in England long anterior to the years usually assigned to them and as proof that they existed in Roman times advances the same argument as Lappenberg. Kemble writes as follows: "The term Litus Saxonicum has been explained to mean rather the coast visited by, or exposed to the ravages of the Saxons, than the coast occupied by them: but against this loose system of philological and historical interpretation I beg emphatically to protest: it seems to have arisen merely from the uncritical spirit in which the Saxon and Welsh traditions have been adopted as ascertained facts, and from the impossibility of reconciling the account of Beda with the natural sense of the entry in the Notitia: but there seems no reason whatever for adopting an exceptional rendering in this case, and, as the Litus Saxonicum on the mainland was that district in which members of the Saxon confederacy were settled, the Litus Saxonicum ver Britannias unquestionably obtained its name from a similar circumstance."

Palgrave in his "History of the Anglo-Saxons" says: "It has been supposed that this shore was so-called merely because it was open to the incursions of the Saxons, but it is most probable that they • • succeeded in fixing themselves in some portion of the district; for it appears a strange anomaly that a country should be named, not from its inhabitants but from its assailants." In another place Palgrave expresses the opinion that "the people inhabiting the southern parts of the island when the Romans first visited Britain belonged to the Teutonic family of nations."

From Skene's"Celtic Scotland" the following relevant extract is made: "Ammianus tells us that in 368 the Count of the Maritime Tract was slain, and in the Notitia Imperi we find the same functionary termed Count of the Saxon Shore.

In the same document this designation of the Saxon Shore is also applied to the country about Grannona in Gaul, where the Saxons had established regular settlements. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the name of the Saxon Shore was given to the coast extending from the Wash on the North to near Portsmouth in the south, not because it was exposed to the ravages of the Saxons, but because they had likewise made settlements there."

In "The Pedigree of the English People," Thomas Nicholas writes: "That such settlements (of Saxons) had taken place, without conflict, in the course of ages, is more than probable... Why should there be a shore called Litus Saxonicum at all in Britain except as a result of Saxon descent and Saxon settlement?"

Du Chaillu, in "The Viking Age," says "the Saxon Shore was the shore of the country settled - not attacked- by the Saxons. There is no mention in the whole of Roman literature of a country being named after the people who attacked it.

Thomas Wright, in "Essays on Archaeological Subjects" says: "I am inclined to believe that at least a considerable proportion of the population on the eastern and southeastern coast of Britain, at the earliest period with which we are acquainted was really of Teutonic origin," and in his volume entitled "The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon," this author expands the district thus occupied by a Teutonic element to include portion of the Midlands.

Henry Morley, in his interesting book on "English Writers before Chaucer," has this observation: "It has been argued that the Saxon Shore which is called also in the same record the Saxon Boundary (Limes), meant a shore not occupied by, but liable to attack from a Germanic

people. This, however, is only argued to evade one of the difficulties made by the rejection of that evidence of Caesar, Strabo and Tacitus, which, with the appointment in Britain of a Roman Count of the Saxon Shore, is without strain of interpretation, perfectly consistent," and in another page, Morley says: "The beginning of the Germanic invasion is, in fact, prehistoric."

Latham, the eminent and very circumspect philologist of last century, hazarded in "The English Language" the view that "Germans might have found their way into the south-eastern counties of England 2000 years ago, or even sooner."

John Pym Yeatman, author of a work on "Early English History," says,

That the Anglian immigration of the north and east, like the Belgian of the south, is clear beyond all doubt, and probably several centuries before the invasion of the Romans," and Coote,[12] who has already been referred to, gives as the first of his conclusions: "The populations of the eastern and middle parts of England were Teutonic at the time of the Imperial conquests."

One would have thought that such an array of authoritative opinion regarding a partly "Saxon" England in Roman times could hardly have failed to cause considerable modification of the Celtic theory. But put forward in nearly every instance as merely a side issue, and falling short of a comprehensive challenging of what are still the orthodox foundations of British history, these heretical views have not obtained the consideration to which they were entitled.

Although it has been taken for granted that the forts on the Saxon Shore were constructed as military defences against external aggression. a careful consideration of the circumstances seems to indicate quite another reason. If they were built for defensive purposes then, for once, the Roman authorities showed a strange lack of that sound military strategy, to say nothing of common sense, which usually characterized them. Hodgkin,28 in his "History of the Anglo-Saxons" accuses the Romans, in this instance, of "acting like children who attempt to keen out an incoming tide with a dam of stones." The analogy would have been more apt and the futility emphasized if the critic had said that the attempt to keep out the tide was made by driving posts, at wide intervals, into the shore. Eight or nine forts of no great size, distributed at varying distances along some two hundred miles of coast could have been of very little use in repelling raiders. The fact that, though small, these forts were carefully and massively constructed proves that they were not the result of panic.

And there was no cause just then for panic. Although the precise date of construction cannot be stated, at least we know that the forts were built some considerable lime before the raids had reached any serious magnitude, There was a purpose for the erection of these widely scattered structures other than fear of external aggression,

By the time of Diocletian there was in existence a system of customs and excise duties operating throughout the Roman Empire. In the case of an island country like Britain, the collection of these duties would most effectively be made at the maritime centres of trade, and I noteworthy in this connection that in every instance this forts on the Saxon Shore were built not on headlands or points of vantage, as remarked by Collingwood, but close proximity to harbours. And the territory behind these harbours comprised practically the whole of the wheat-growing districts of England, the only parts Mil ably, in Britain, where wheat would be a staple crop. wheat, subject to a substantial duty, was exported in large quantities to the continent. The forts were, therefore the headquarters of officials whose business it was to see that no wheat went away without contributing to revenue. Too small to accommodate any large number of men, the method of construction of these forts undoubtedly suggests that they were built to resist any burglarious attacks by bodies of robbers tempted to possess themselves of the large sums of money they must at certain times, have safeguarded. Another feature points to the likelihood that the forts were the centres where a watch over export and import duties was exercised. The Notitis shows them to have been garrisoned by cavalry -for what purpose except to patrol the coast for the prevention of smuggling?

It has been pointed out that at no time during the Roman occupation did any permanent settlement in England of a Saxon people result from overseas attacks. Therefore the interesting question arises whether the Saxon kingdoms in the south-east which we find in existence at this dawn of native history are not survivals of the Nordic communities of this identical district who paid tribute on their export of wheat to the Roman authorities.

Clearly the name was given by the Romans to the Saxon Shore territories because people they regarded a Saxons occupied them. It was a name of comparatively late application. For nearly two hundred years the whole of the inhabitants of the island had been called Britons - a mere geographical designation. Then Saxons began to be mentioned vaguely as living in parts of north-western

Europe. They had certain distinct racial characteristics, and the speech of the various groups had much in common. When the Romans discovered that the people of England with whom they were in closest touch - those living immediately round the Augustan metropolis - were related in speech and appearance with the Saxons of the Continent it was inevitable that the general name of Britons should be dropped in favour of Saxons. And the natives who had heard of the Saxons of the continent as doughty opponents of toman dominion would adopt the new name as a compliment which, however, did not reach The less Romanized inhabitants of the remoter interior.

What bears out these views is the fact that the Saxon states of English history are literally packed round London, and one of them, Middlesex, is actually only a synonym for London and its environs. The silence of Anglo-Saxon history regarding any Anglo-Saxon occupation of these parts is also highly significant. We gather from the Anglo-Saxon records that, fir a full century, the invaders had nothing whatever to in with London. According to Sir Laurence Gomme, London continued to be Celtic long after the advent of The Anglo-Saxons. Gomme also insists strongly on the continuance of Roman London and its institutions right Town to the present day from Roman times. But hampered hy his Celtic prepossessions, Gomme was confronted at many points by problems he could not satisfactorily solve. There are no recognizable Celtic place-names in London; They are all Nordic. In other respects Gomme failed to reconcile his comparatively late and gradual intrusion of Anglo-Saxons into London with the complete absence of any Celtic features in its polity. He makes the best of Ins situation with much play upon Celtic gods, Celtic Weapons, Celtic objects of art, all based on the usual convenient assumptions of the Celtic school of archaeology; about whose dicta the latest authorities are very sceptical.

One of the few traditions of early England which Appear to be genuine is the story of Vortigern, or Wyrtgeorn. It has always been a puzzling circumstance from the orthodox view-point that a Celtic king in England should have been so utterly foolish and short-sighted as In invite alien and by no means friendly people from overseas to assist in repelling Scottish raiders. But if Vortigern was a Nordic ruling over a Nordic people, then his action assumes quite a reasonable appearance.

The proof that he was Nordic stares every Celticist in the Tate, but, if noticed, has been very circumspectly ignored. The "gern" in Vortigern's name makes it distinctly Nordic.

This suffix was the common part of a ruler's name in Vortigern's day among the Nordic peoples of the continent. Seeing that Vortigern was Nordic it may not be regarded as an outrageous assumption that his subjects were Nordic also - Saxons of England - before ever the Anglo-Saxons, so-called, set foot in the country according to orthodox history. As these Nordics did not come into the country during Roman times their prehistoric occupation of it receives substantial confirmation from the evidences adduced in this chapter.

III

The Gap.

More than one modern historian admits himself to be in a quandary about filling in what is regarded as a "gap" between the departure of the Romans and the "first successful attempts at widespread and permanent settlement by invaders from the continent." The width of the gap varies according to individual views, but it is generally stated as an interval of about forty years, ending in 449, the date which Bede gives as the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon invasions.

It is now proposed to show that there is no gap for the simple reason that the Anglo-Saxon conquest never happened, but was a pure invention put forward and elaborated centuries later to account for a supposed change in the population of England from a Welsh-speaking to an English-speaking community.

With very substantial proofs a Nordic people has been traced as in occupancy of England from prehistoric times; through the Roman period as Britons, and later as Saxons in that indefinite extent of territory called the Saxon Shore. It will now be shown that this aboriginal English people, left to themselves by the Romans, maintained their identity, their speech, and their occupancy of England through all the following centuries.

There are several continental records. contemporary with the period following the Roman evacuation of England, which make reference to English affairs, but because these not infrequently conflict with views gathered from native sources, they are usually put aside as untrustworthy.

The first of these to be noticed is the Life of Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, written about the year 480, which would be some fifty years after the Saint's death. The interval was sufficient to introduce miraculous elements into the story (though these were apparently regarded even in much later days, as a necessary fortification of ecclesiastical biography). Apart from these features there is undoubtedly a substantial groundwork of fact in the biography.

Germanus was sent over to England in 429 by a synod of Gallican prelates to combat the heretical doctrines of Pelagianism. The many miracles by which the saint was enabled to vindicate the true faith culminated, according to his biographer, in a battle suspiciously reminiscent of Old Testament victories over the heathen.

From what appears to have been his headquarters at St. Albans, Germanus led the Britons against a combined army of Saxons and Picts. Germanus prepared an ambush in a gorge overlooked by precipitous rocks - a locality. which has never been satisfactorily identified. The enemy unsuspectingly entered the trap. At a given signal the Britons, newly baptised by Germanus, raised the shout of "Hallelujah." Thereupon the pagans became panic-stricken, fearing not only that the adjacent rocks, but even the very skies, were falling on them. They fled in disorder, pursued by the Britons who lost not a single man in the combat. The episode can be dismissed as a clumsy fabrication suggested to the biographer by the fact that Germanus had been a military leader of note in his younger days, and it was, therefore, appropriate that he should be given the prestige of crowning his mission with a shrewdly planned and Heaven-helped defeat of ungodly heathen.

Except for the account of this battle the other parts of the biography convey an impression that the country was enjoying peace and prosperity. The theological adversaries of Germanus who met him in public dispute were wealthy men, and showed it in their gorgeous apparel. The people came in immense multitudes with their wives and children to listen to the debates. Some eighteen years later Germanus made a second visit to England. Writing of this mission, following upon a fresh outbreak of Pelagianism, the biographer makes no mention whatever of warfare, but speaks of Britain as a "most opulent island." There is no reason to doubt the correctness of such a picture of the social condition of England at that time.

It embraces the latter portion of the so-called "gap" , regarded in orthodox history as a period when the people of England were either in process of annihilation or

apprehensively waiting for it to commence - not in the least likely to be in a frame of mind to take an interest in theological debates.

The next continental authority to notice is the chronicle which bears the name of Prosper Tiro, otherwise known as Prosper of Aquitaine, a versatile ecclesiastic whose writings range from amatory verse to abstruse theological discussion. Prosper was regarded by the Church as a champion of orthodoxy against the heresies of Pelagius, and this particular chronicle has been rejected in some quarters as the work of Prosper because it savours of Pelagianism. It is not impossible that Prosper changed his views, for the teachings of Pelagius both in sentiment and argument were not without attractiveness. At any rate, the chronicle was originally and for a considerable time invariably attributed to Prosper. It belongs, undoubtedly to his period, and the insertion of two entries about British affairs suggests that the writer was in touch with the island. This we know was the case. Prosper was the disciple and correspondent of Augustine, who arrived in England in the year 597 and from him could have originated the information comprised in the entries which run as follows:

"The fifteenth year of Arcadius and Honorius (A.D.409) at this time the strength of the Romans was utterly wasted by sickness; and the provinces of Britain were laid waste by the Saxons."

"The eighteenth year of Theodosius II (A.D. 441): the provinces of Britain, which up to this time had been torn by various slaughters and disasters, are brought under the dominion of the Saxons."

Like the account of the experiences of Germanus, these entries, particularly in the matter of the dates, cannot be reconciled with the usually held views of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest. Not only, however, is there a strong presumption of their correctness but they have a very illuminating effect on the state of affairs immediately following the departure of the Roman legions from Britain.

In the first place, it has to be pointed out that these extracts from Prosper do not suggest in the slightest degree that the Saxons referred to were invaders from overseas though this is the invariable meaning put upon the words in spite of the fact that Tiro's dates do not fit into the orthodox theory. According both to Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle the foreigners from the continent did not arrive in Britain until 449, eight years after Prosper records that the provinces of Britain had been brought under the dominion of the Saxons.

Prosper's

Saxons, therefore, were not overseas invaders but the people to whom the Romans, in the later years of their occupation gave, as we have seen, the name of Saxons. This explanation is in perfect accordance with the known facts of English history relative to this period. The first quoted extract from Tiro says that in 409 the provinces of Britain were laid waste by the Saxons. Taking the name as applied to the natives of the south-east of England by the Romans, we learn from Roman sources that these in the last years of the occupation rose in one insurrection after another, resenting, according to the historian Oman, what they regarded as indifference to their interests on the part of the Imperial rulers. Archaeology adds authentic evidence of the devastation wrought by the enraged natives at this time. The latest authorities say definitely that the destruction by fire of the many Roman villas scattered over the south-east of England took place before the Anglo-Saxon invaders are supposed to have entered the country. been done to the villas all over Britain by the end of the fourth century." At least in one instance, even a city was devastated. Trevelyan, in his History of England, says that "antiquarian research has proved that Bath lay in ruins, its fashionable pools choked up with thickets and inhabited by water-fowl long before the Saxons settled there." We can well imagine that a place where Roman wealth and luxury was ostentatiously paraded would be likely to be made a special object of attack.

Oman also refers to the archaeological evidence of the destruction and abandonment of Romano-British cities. "Nearly all of them," he says, "show signs of having been burnt or deserted at a comparatively early date . . . even though their sites were not permanently occupied by Teutonic invaders till the sixth or seventh century." He is evidently puzzled to find that this fate overtook "even the cities of the West Midlands," which could not have been reached by the invaders until long after the time when disaster overtook them. The explanation is found in the first entry quoted from Tiro - that the provinces of Britain in the year 409, when probably the legions were being drawn in for evacuation, were laid waste by the natives to whom the name of Saxons had been given by the Romans.

The second of the two entries, which states that in 141 the provinces of Britain were brought under the dominion of the Saxons. gives a date which is much too early to have any possible reference to overseas Saxons, and can only refer to those of England. There are various

traditions indicating that after the departure of the Romans, the natives were engaged for several years consolidating their position.

The Ambrosius Aurelianus of Gildas, and the Arturius (or Arthur) of Nennius, may have been two different individuals, but more probably the names vaguely refer to the one person who is represented as leading the natives victoriously in their wars. That is how tradition would put it, but the wars, if internal (as the traditions suggest, and as they could only have been in these particular years) must have been no more than clashes of a minor nature between conflicting interests or with unruly sections.

There are yet two continental writers, Procopius and Zosimus, both belonging to the empire of Byzantium, who, in the sixth century, produced interesting records in which reference was made to Britain. But Procopius gives us only an utterly fantastic story of Britain as a ghostly land where boatmen ferried ashore from visiting ships the spirits of the dead. Zosimus, writing more soberly, yet not much better informed speaks of barbarians beyond the Rhine as compelling the inhabitants of the British Isles, and some of the peoples of Gaul, to secede from the Empire of the Romans. He adds that the people of Britain, taking up arms and braving every danger, freed their cities from the invading barbarians.

Summing up the evidence from these various external sources, it shows the people of England, after the departure of the Romans and until the supposed commencement of the Anglo-Saxon invasions, as enjoying, on the whole, peace and prosperity, and apparently carrying on in a peace and prosperity, and apparently carrying on in a greater or less degree the principles of government initiated by the Romans. Above all, it seems clear that they were well able to hold their own against external enemies. And although this is not the orthodox view, it can be shown that the picture as presented by the earliest native writers, when carefully considered, is not dis-similar.

(a) Philippus. Gold. The prototype of the British Staters. Philip II of Macedon. 359-336 B.C.

(b) Uninscribed Stater. Gold. Ancient British.

(c) Inscribed Stater. Gold. Verica. Approx. 25 B.C.

(d) Roman Occupation. Constantine the Great. 306-337 A.D. Bronze.

(e) Anglo-Saxon Sceat. Silver. 7th Cent.

(f) Anglo-Saxon Penny. Silver. St. Eadmund. 870-905 A.D.

EVOLUTION OF BRITISH COINAGE.

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CHAPTER 12.

BRITISH COINAGE AS HISTORICAL EVIDENCE.

In marked contrast to documentary and traditional evidence, coinage provides us with a basis of historical inquiry which, so far as it goes, is reliable and indisputable. The ancient writer of manuscript or the many passers-on of tradition could never be assumed to be quite free of bias, prevarication, or error. We have no reason, on the other hand, to believe that coin die engravers or their masters ever sought to mislead posterity.

The relatively indestructible nature of metal coinage has ensured that representative quantities of every age are available to us to-day. However, the implications of coinage, or indeed of any other unearthed material relics, must be sought with an open mind. If the numismatist begins with pre-set ideas on history he is liable to intensify the mistakes in the latter rather than correct them when revision is indicated.

To find the genesis of the coinage of Britain we must go back to Philip II of Macedon, under whose direction was struck the golden stater in the year 356 B.C. This coin, which depicted the head of Apollo on one side and a biga and horses on the other, persisted as standard currency for centuries. It was imitated in all countries which came into contact with Grecian civilization and realized the advantage of money as an aid to trade.

The coins of ancient Britain of the 2nd and Ist centuries B.C. bear, in design and composition, unmistakable signs of inspiration from the Macedonian stater. As we might only expect, the later these British staters, the less definite is the resemblance to the original design. During the second half of the 1st century B.C., the British staters were struck with inscriptions of rulers (the earlier types being all uninscribed). Rulers represented include

Commius of the Atrebates and his sons, Cunobelinus Boadicea, Addedomaros and others. It should be noted that the craftsmanship evident in many of these coins rivals that of the purely Roman coins. Evans writes an follows on the pre-Roman British coinage: "The use of money at so early a period in this country will no doubt appear almost incredible to those who are accustomed to regard the Ancient Britons as the merest barbarians."

To designate this coinage as Celtic (which, by the way, no numismatist of note appears to have done) is to venture into a course of action which must be quite arbitrary. To find even one characteristic in it which may be dubbed "Celtic" baffles the most ingenious trafficker in subterfuge.

Caesar's legions brought with them their own money, and this displaced that of the natives during the whole period of the Roman occupation. The Romans did not actually make coins in Britain until the end of the 3rd century A.D., and when they did, it was for a brief period only - up to the reign of Magnus Maximus (388 A.D.). The Britons automatically continued to use the Roman coins after the Roman exodus. This is not surprising - the money was, although originally alien, to all intents and purposes their own.

We now come to that phase of history where we are asked to believe that "whom the sword spared, famine and pestilence devoured" (as described by Stubbs) and in a replacement of Britons by an entirely new race of people.

In the recovered coinage of early Britain we look in vain for corroboration of the Anglo-Saxon invasion. In fact, we must advance two hundred years after the Roman departure to find any significantly new coin type -a hiatus which cannot be lightly put aside and ignored.

The new type of coin is the seat, with exact date of first introduction quite indefinite, but accepted as an Anglo-Saxon coin. Strangely enough, however, the earliest of these revealed Roman characteristics. This is surely a natural transition from the coins of the Roman period, and the post-Roman currency. which persisted in Britain for another 200 years. From the sceat we then note a gradual elimination of Roman ideas and purely native types eventually held sway. It is worth mentioning here that some of these later sceatta found in Britain reveal Frankish influence in design - but they are rare and indicate no more than commercial intercourse.

By the 8th century another important coin had been created in Britain - the silver penny. (Now commonly referred to as the Anglo-Saxon penny.) Through the

silver pennies we trace the gradual growth of a united England. The first of them were struck with the heads of the monarchs of the various kingdoms - Peada, Aethelred, Offa, Coenwulf, Ecgbert, Aethelstan, etc. Later followed the coins of Alfred, Edward the Confessor and Harold. Coincident with these we find many. semi-ecclesiastical coins. and also coins reflecting Danish influence.

The implications of the whole picture presented by the coinage of early Britain are unmistakable. The pretentious Celtic doctrine finds no support whatever, and apart from the non-controversial changes wrought by the Roman occupation, all other developments are purely evolutionary. Absent is a sudden post-Roman change, absent too the records in metal of those almost mythical beings, Hengist and Horsa, who should have earned, by accounts, numismatic immortality. Surely it would be asking of us too much to accept the belief that the invaders, after completely stamping out the natives, were satisfied to forget their own coinage and scrape along for two centuries with the coins of their annihilated victims.

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CHAPTER 13.

THE FABULOUS INVASION.

We are entirely lacking in any contemporary. British records concerning the events of what are called the Anglo-Saxon invasions.

The earliest British writer on the subject is the monk Gildas, who was born, according to his own statement, forty-four years and nine months after the landing of the Saxons." A mediaeval and quite unauthentic biography makes him a native of Strathclyde in Scotland, but this appears to be a misconception due to the circumstance that probably, unknown to the biographer, there is a small river Clwyd in Wales, but whose valley is more likely to have been the birth-place of one who spent the early part of his life in Wales.

In "England before the Norman Conquest" Professor Oman writes thus scathingly of the historical ignorance of Gildas, "All our misconception of the meaning of the events of 410 may be traced back in the end to the tirades of Gildas, who wrote merely from oral tradition, and 130 years after the events which he is describing. It is from him that we derive the unhappy idea that in the fourth century the 'Britons' and the 'Romans' were two distinct nations, the one subject to the other, and the wholly erroneous notion that the local army was alien and non-British." His account of the events between 383 and 410 is entirely unhistorical. "Magnus Maximus," he says, "took away every armed man from Britain in 383 and left the province, entirely ignorant of military usages, to the tender mercy of the Pict and Scot…..The Britons sent legates to Rome to beg for an army, and promised to be more loyal to the Empire if only they were succoured. A legion was sent which routed the barbarians out of the land, and then, for the defence of the province, bade the

Britons erect a wall from sea to sea, which they did making it of turf. The legion then returned with great triumph to Rome, whereupon the Picts and Scots re appeared in a worse temper than before. This induced the Britons to send a second embassy to the Romans. The latter, profoundly moved by the tragic history flew swift as eagles to the rescue and made a great slaughter of the barbarians. But then they declared that they could not be worried any longer by having to make such laborious expeditions."

"It is hardly necessary." remarks Oman. "to criticize this rubbish. What attention need be paid to a writer who thinks that the Walls of Hadrian and Severus, and the castles of the Saxon Shore were all built some time after the rebellion of Magnus Maximus in 383? The whole narrative is nonsense; there was a continuous garrison in Britain down to 410 …. The only thing proved by the narrative is that, by 510, even learned men in Britain (Gildas passed as such and was called 'Sapiens' by admiring posterity), were ignorant of all the details of the provincial history of their own country."

This lengthy quotation from one of our weightiest modern authorities is given to show that Gildas is very far from being a reliable source of historical information He assumed the role of an Old Testament prophet rebuking a back-sliding and ungodly generation upon whom the Almighty poured the vials of his wrath.

To that has to be added the venting of a personal grudge, and the conclusion cannot be avoided that the writing of trustworthy and matter-of-fact history was utterly remote from the mind of this hysterical monk.

Gildas wrote after many years as an exile in Gaul and his bitter attacks on certain Welsh leaders suggest that they may have driven him out of the country as a very impossible and mischievous person. He commences the part of his book known as the Epistle with a wholesale denunciation of the tyrant kings of Britain, and then reveals his real object in outbursts against the particular persons who had incurred his hatred. The first mentioned is Constantine "the tyrannical whelp of the unclean lioness of Damnonia." Gildas charges him with murdering two royal youths with their attendants. According to Gildas this prince had never done one worthy act, and had stained himself with the abomination of many adulteries. "Go to now," he is abjured by the raving monk, "I reprove thee as at present whom I know as yet to be in this life extant. Why standest thou astonished, O thou butcher of thine own soul. Why dost thou wilfully kindle against thyself

the eternal fires of hell?" And if Constantine fails to repent of his sins he is duly warned that "he will be tossed and tormented in the inevitable and dark floods of endless fire."
Gildas next attacks Aurelius Conanus, supposed to be king of Powisland. It is charged against him that "he is swallowed up in the filthiness of horrible murders, fornications and adulteries, as by an overwhelming flood of the sea."
Unless this ruler shakes himself out of his filthy dust he also will "be ever tormented and never consumed in the cruel jaws of hell."
An un-named tyrant of the Demetians now comes under the lash. Not an inexperienced youth but growing grey, he is seated on a throne full of deceits, stained with murder and adulteries. With the end of his life approaching, he, in turn, is reminded of the fate of unrepentant sinners.
Cuneglasse, who ruled territory west of the Severn is thus apostrophized: "Why art thou fallen into the filth of thy former wickedness, yea, since the very first spring of thy tender youth, thou bear, thou rider and ruler of many, and guider of the chariot which is the receptacle of the bear, thou contemnor of God, and vilifier of his order, thou tawny butcher, as in Latin thy name signifies." This prince is also reminded that "the souls of the sinful are as eternal in perpetual fire as the souls of the just in perpetual joy and gladness."
On Maclogune, king of North Wales, is heaped the most bitter invective of all as a renegade from religion, and a person not well disposed towards the representatives of the Church.
Following many quotations from Scripture Gildas warns him: "If thou scorn us, who obey these texts, the dark flood of hell shall without doubt eternally drown thee in that deadly whirlpool." Proceeding to justify his attitude by further numerous and lengthy Biblical quotations, the monk suddenly breaks fresh ground by savagely attacking the clergy of Britain, and if only a tenth part of the charges had any foundation in fact, religion must have been at a very low ebb indeed. But all this incoherent raving can only have emanated from a malignant and paranoic mind, not far removed from complete insanity.
The tale of the calamities which overtook the Britons is related as the inevitable sequence of the sinfulness denounced by Gildas. The unbridled language of his denunciations makes it quite certain that the so-called history is characterized by a similar lack of restraint and much exaggeration of the actual facts. "The fire of vengeance," writes this monk, "justly kindled by former crimes, spread from sea to sea, fed by the hands of our

foes in the east, and did not cease, until destroying the neighbouring towns and lands, it reached the other side of the island, and dipped its red and savage tongue in the western ocean. In these assaults, therefore, not unlike that of the Assyrian upon Judea, was fulfilled in our case what the prophet describes in words of lamentation; they have burned with fire the sanctuary; they have polluted on earth the tabernacle of thy name." And again, "O God, the gentiles have come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled. So that all the columns were levelled with the ground, by the frequent strokes of the battering-ram, all the husbandmen routed, together with their bishops, priests, and people, while the sword gleamed, and the flames crackled around them on every side. Lamentable to behold, in the midst of the streets lay the tops of lofty towers tumbled to the ground, stones of high walls, holy altars, fragments of human bodies, covered with livid clots of coagulated blood, looking as if they had been squeezed together in a press, and with no chance of being buried save in the ruins of the houses, or in the ravening bellies of wild beasts and birds." Such balderdash as the statement that the barbarians from the Baltic seas employed battering-rams in Britain to destroy "holy temples" presumably of the Christians, and all the other details which this mad priest drew from his imagination were accepted as sober history by many succeeding generations of writers, and his vogue as the historian of a supposed extermination of the Britons by the Saxons has not yet entirely died out. But the singular thing about this situation is that Gildas, so far from saying that the Britons were decimated makes it quite plain that they rallied and "being strengthened by God" ultimately drove the enemy out of the country. "For as well," he writes, "the remembrance of such a terrible desolation of the island, as also of the unexpected recovery of the same, remained in the minds of those who were eye-witnesses of the wonderful events of both." Yet the story of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England is regarded as having its beginning in the writings of Gildas.

The question arises here as to whether Gildas had any foundation whatever for his story of wide-spread ruin in England. As a Welshman it appears quite certain that he knew very little of the affairs of eastern Britain in his own time. He is entirely silent regarding the notable visits of Germanus who found peaceful conditions, where Gildas depicts scenes of bloodshed and ruin. Gildas gives particulars of only one battle, fought on the borders of Wales at a date which makes it impossible for the overseas

Saxons of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to have penetrated so far. He had heard of the arrival of Saxons in three "cyuls" on the eastern coast. and possibly of some friction caused by their advent, while the trouble the Romans had had with their compatriots on the continent would be pretty common knowledge. Then that battle of Badon-hill must have been often spoken of during Gildas' boyhood as a victory of the Welsh over the Saxons. These Saxons could only have been the English Saxons - so-called by the Romans. But unaware of this Gildas linked up his little scraps of knowledge into a sweeping across the country into Wales of these overseas pirates; the scenes of rapine they left behind being added by Gildas out of his imagination, as a necessary part of the picture. He had, however, to recognize the hard fact that the Britons were still in possession of their country, but accounted for this quite easily by explaining that they had repented of their sins and thereby obtained Divine assistance to repel the enemy.

The chronicle of Nennius which considerably enlarges the story of Gildas in some respects. is regarded by Oman as having been compiled a hundred years later, and rewritten with additions. For the most part this chronicle is a mass of fable, nevertheless it would appear that some fragments of tradition are incorporated in it. Nennius states that Vortigern gave the strangers from overseas the Isle of Thanet as a habitation. If this is so, they could hardly have been intended for service against the Picts and Scots, as both Gildas and Nennius imply, seeing that these head-quarters were in the extreme south-eastern corner of England, as far removed from encountering raiders from Scotland as it was possible to put them. Some more probable explanation of the presence of these newcomers in such a quarter is necessary. Modern scientific research points to it.

It is an accepted geological fact that about this time the shores of the continent immediately opposite England had been slowly sinking and were thus subject to severe inundations of the sea. Friesland, in particular suffered very severely, and numbers of the inhabitants must have been compelled to seek new homes. What more likely than that Vortigern with the Nordic name, and ruling over a Nordic people, should be approached by flooded-out Fries-landers to allow them to settle in England? Or, Vortigern, learning of their plight, may have invited them, as the story goes, to come over. They would be fishermen, of course, and in such a place as the Isle of Thanet they would be conveniently situated to ply their craft. Other

places along the coast may have been put at their disposal, and this may account for the statement of Procopius that Frisians comprised one of the nations of Britain. These settlers would need at the outset some little assistance, which indeed was promised them, and it is easy to understand that hitches and delays led to a good deal of friction, possibly even to threats by the more impatient and hot-headed, that they would help themselves if the supplies arranged for were not forthcoming. This is part of the tale as told by Nennius.

According to this chronicle the continental Saxons received a very rough handling from the Britons. Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, defeated them in four battles - on the last occasion the Saxons had to flee to their ships. It was under the "Magnanimous Arthur." however, that the Britons achieved their most remarkable successes.

In no less than twelve successive battles they defeated the Saxons, and Nennius explains that the Britons were successful because "no strength can avail against the will of the Almighty." In the final battle the Saxons were put to flight and pursued the whole day with great slaughter. One would think that this should just about have made an end of the Saxons but Nennius had to account for the presence in England, long after, of Saxons. So he explains that the more they were slaughtered the more they came from Germany, though nowhere does the chronicle say that the Britons were finally supplanted by overseas invaders. Nennius cannot be regarded as even suggesting a wholesale Anglo-Saxon conquest.

RUINS OF THE MONASTERY OF JARROW
and the Church of Jarrow — 1820.

— where Bede's Ecclesiastical History was completed in A.D. 731. (From History of Durham: Surtees)

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CHAPTER 14.

BEDE'S ENGLAND.

Bede completed his great work the "Historia Ecclesiastica Gentes Anglorum," in 731, three years before his death at the age of 62.
Written in the monastery of Jarrow, Durham, this history, while a notable and valuable production, is also characterized as a historical record by defects due to the limitations of the author, and devotion to his Church. The latter trait is manifested by the recital from traditional and hearsay sources of numerous miracles - some of a very puerile character - while the obvious bias shown towards kings of a religious type creates a suspicion that in such cases the history is not quite dependable.
For the Roman period Bede drew upon Orosius and Eutropius. It is unfortunate also that from the Roman times until the advent of Augustine in England, Bede has given us, for the most part, merely a paraphrased version of Gildas. The reason for this must have been that though, as he tells us, he sought diligently for information, there were no other sources available. Consider what this means in the matter of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest. Have we to suppose that a new people from overseas entered England, and overcame and dispossessed the original inhabitants during the course of a hundred and fifty years, without leaving to their descendants a single inscribed stone or a story in verse after the manner of Beowulf, telling of their marvellous achievement? If such an event ever took place it must have created a mass of vivid traditions which in Bede's day, could have been easily transmuted into history. The traditions had not so far to travel in point of time. The lives of Bede and

of a great mass of available informants, carried back into the years by grandparents, would bring the latter within hearsay of those who as children should have seen, or al least been told by their elders, of the triumphant sweeping of their people through England. Yet, putting his borrowings from the miserable Gildas on one side, all the particulars we have got from Bede, after all his inquiries about this astounding change in race and speech, is n single Kentish tradition which as well as having nothing to do with it is at least a thousand years older than the alleged conquest; and a solitary entry in the chronological recapitulation at the end of the History which under the year 449 states that the English being called by the Britons came into Britain" In these circumstances such a remarkable poverty of material strongly suggests that the Conquest never happened.

How then it may be asked, did it come to be imagined" The answer is quite to hand. In the early centuries of the Roman period the whole of the people of the island were included under the name of Britons. Whether or not Bede knew that it was purely a geographical term, he attached to it, as we gather from his History, both racial and linguistic significance. The Welsh, known in Bede's day as Britons, differed both in race and speech from the English. The Welsh lived in the extreme western parts of England, the English occupied all the rest. To Bede, these Britons in the west were the remaining fragment of the Britannic people of the whole of England, who, in some way or other, must have been superseded by the English

Nevertheless, Bede was impaled on the horns of a dilemma. He had adopted and repeated in his History the definite statement of Gildas that the Britons had overcome the Saxons, and re-established themselves. But he was also confronted with the fact that in his own day a Saxon and an English people, obviously of the same race and using the same speech, entirely different to that of Walen, were in possession of eastern and midland England. Bede did not see, or refused to see that something was radically wrong with his case. He took the easiest way with a dilemma (and in this has been followed ever since by a formidable array of historians), he ignored it, and contented himself by explaining to the best of his ability the existing state of affairs. Into the midst of quotations from Gildas he inserts a bald and brief account - mostly unhistorical, as we shall see - of the origin of the English people, and correctly, except for one or two misunderstandings - of the territories occupied by their principal subdivisions.

He writes: "Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations of Germany _ _Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight, and those also in the provinces of the West Saxons, who are to this day called Jutes, seated opposite to the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, the country which is now called Old Saxony, came the East-Saxons, the South-Saxons and the West-Saxons. From the Angles, that is, the country which is called Anglia (Angulus), and which is said, from that time, to remain desert to this day, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, are descended the East Angles, the Midland Angles, Mercians, all the race of the Northumbrians, that is, of those nations that dwell on the north side of the river Humber, and the other nations of the English. The two first commanders are said to have been Hengist and Horsa."

Included in these sentences is much controversial matter and some of it is absurdly incorrect. The Angles and the Jutes, so far from being two of the most powerful nations of Germany, were small, insignificant communities.

Long before Bede's time "Saxon" had become a vague term in its application on the continent, often used for lack of more specific knowledge, and Bede's statement that the Saxons came from Old Saxony might refer to half-a-dozen different localities. Apparently, however, he had in mind a district now known as Schleswig-Holstein, though it never went under the name of Old Saxony. The Old Saxons are placed by several authorities in Westphalia and Hanover, both inland territories whose inhabitants were not likely to participate in adventures by sea.

We shall see directly that Bede's Saxons were not a different people from his Angles. His notion that the former came from the continent is strongly contradicted by an eminent American authority, Professor Marsh, who says: "There is no external testimony to show that any nation known to itself as Saxon while yet resident on 'Teutonic soil, furnished any contingent to the bodies of the invaders. Germanic and Scandinavian history are silent on the whole subject except in some few passages probably borrowed from Anglo-Saxon sources."

As regards the Angles, Bede approached this subject preoccupied by a very pretty story. It is related of Pope Gregory that he found some fair-haired children offered for sale as slaves in the market-place of Rome. "Who are they ?" asked the Holy Father. Told that they were English, he remarked with a punning approximation to the term in Latin, that they had "an Angelic face and it

became such to be co-heirs with the Angels in heaven." One notable result of this meeting is said to have been the appointment of St. Augustine's mission to England. Hut a second result, not so much taken notice of, but one which has added much confusion to English history, win the adoption - which still persists in certain quarters of the word Anglian for English and Anglia for England English and England, as will be shown immediately, are terms immeasurably older than Gregory's interview will the slave children. But the use by Churchmen of the Latin term which had become current before Bede's lime led him astray when looking for the original home of him Angles.

There was a point of land in the Chersonese Peninsula known as Angeln. The term had nothing to do with this name of the inhabitants - it was merely topographical referring to the angular nature of the land. It was a very small territory measuring at most twenty miles by ten and of a sterile nature which could only have supplied sustenance for a mere handful of people. The suggestion that it remained unoccupied after the Angles left, brands the tale built around it as fictitious. Angeln was according to Bede's own account wedged between Jutes and Saxon These apparently did not desert the peninsula in mass. Is it at all likely that none of the remaining inhabitants of the country-side failed to take advantage of the opportunities afforded of acquiring homes in at least the most favourable spots in Angeln, which must have receive some development and improvement from the previous occupants? Land fit for settlement was not too plentiful anywhere in the Peninsula.

The total number of settlers which Angeln supplied to England could not have been great and if they had had to fight their way as we are given to understand, they must have suffered further reductions. Yet in Bede's time the so-called Angles occupied more than three parts of the whole country, and that with a numerous population as the earliest records of their history prove. How thin people spread over the greater part of England, could in the course of 250 years, have sprung from the few immigrants Angeln was able to supply is a problem which from the orthodox standpoint has never been explained Bede's story is simply childish in its ineptitude, and It In only when we come to realize that his Angles are An aboriginal English, rooted for many centuries before this ill-informed monk's. time, in the soil of England, the situation is satisfactorily cleared up.

II

Among the latest authorities there is a very general consensus of opinion that the Saxons and Angles were Identical people, the names in the early years of English history being frequently interchanged. Chadwick in "The Origin of the English Nation," is very emphatic in objecting to Bede's separate "nations" of Angles and Saxons. He writes: The evidence of the social system has totally Tailed to substantiate the distinction drawn by Bede between the Saxons and the Angles… There is the inexplicable fact that West Saxon writers including King Alfred himself, called their language English, and regarded their nation as part of the Angelcyn. The linguistic evidence, as we have seen, again points to no original differences. Now comes the overwhelming fact that a social system of a type unique among Teutonic nations … is common to the Saxon kingdom of Wessex and the Anglian kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria… I think we are bound to conclude that the distinction drawn by Bede in this case had no solid foundation, in other words, that it was the result of a theory. The materials for forming such a theory were ready to hand In the existence of the names Wessex, Essex, and Sussex on the one side, and East Anglia and Middle Anglia on the other. Hence it requires little ingenuity to make two peoples of the Angles and the Saxons."

From the third section of the invaders - the Jutes - Bede says the people of Kent and of the Isle of Wight and the West Saxons opposite the Isle of Wight, are descended. Bede does not mention any particular homeland of the Jutes, but places the Angles between the provinces of the lutes and the Saxons. Modern Jutland comprises the northern part of the peninsula, and its people, by tradition and history, claim to have occupied these parts from prehistoric times. In the area of Jutland both Angeln and Hede's original home of the Saxons are included. There is no local tradition or record of Saxons in such parts.

One of the oldest and most general traditions of northwestern Europe is one which suggests that all its various peoples belong to a great family known at one time as Gothic. By the classical authors this term was written In many different ways, and the name "Jutes" is one of the few forms which have survived into modern times. In Briton, when first expressed in writing by Bede, the name was written "Jutae." He applies it to the people

in a small portion of the south-east of England. His information in this respect came in all probability from Albinus, Bishop of Canterbury, who, we are told, advised Bede on many matters. But whoever was Bede's informant must have had some local knowledge. Neither Kent, where Canterbury is situated, nor the Isle of Wight fitted into the classifications of Saxons and Angles. Kent and Wight were very old names going back to Roman times. And the people of Kent and Wight had special names for themselves - Kent-waras and Wight-waras - which looked as if they also went back to the Roman period. Here was an awkward situation to confront an exponent of English origins supposed to be no older than the fifth century. Whoever were these Kent-waras and Wight-waras? solution was found for the mystery. Round about Canter-bury, and for that matter throughout the whole of Britain were misty traditions floating about which made all the inhabitants of the island, excepting the most westerly parts, belong to a race which had some such name as "Yeat" or "Geat". The tradition pointed beyond question to a prehistoric Nordic population. Yeatae and Jutae are the same word, and when Bede's informant found that a people called Jutae inhabited the Chersonese Peninsula whence the Angles and Saxons were assumed to have come, it was the most natural thing in the world to bring the old traditions about "Yeats" up to date and apply them to these mysterious people of Kent and the Isle of Wight who called themselves neither Angles nor Saxons.

But unfortunately for this ingenious theory of Bede's period, it has not been endorsed by modern investigators. Chadwick expresses grave doubts about the presence of Jutes in south-eastern England. Hodgkin in his "History of the Anglo-Saxons" is equally at a loss to discover Jutes in the districts allotted to them by Bede.

Unable to obtain any satisfactory data from continental sources, Hodgkin turns to archaeology only to find himself baffled here also. "It must be admitted," he writes, "that archaeology has failed to support Bede's statement that the Jutes came from Jutland, indeed, it has not yielded any positive support for the view that migrants from Jutland were one among the component elements of the Kentish population."

If there were any substance at all in Bede's notion of an occupation of England by overseas invaders, it might have been expected that close at hand in Northumbria he would have been able to glean some particulars of the supercession of Britons by Angli. But he is completely silent, except for an entry in his supplementary chronology, under the year 547, which says that "Ida began to reign:

from him the royal family of Northumbria derives its original." By some commentators this is taken to mean that Ida was a newcomer and founder of an Anglic kingdom in the north. Bede neither says nor implies the one thing or the other. He had obtained about the year 730, probably from a descendant of Ida, information that this king had reigned some hundred and fifty years previously, and that the existing royal family was descended from him. This reign commenced, according to Bede's dates, nearly a hundred years after the alleged commencement of the invasions and near enough to Bede's time to have provided a very complete story of the remarkable change which an Anglo-Saxon Conquest over the powerful and warlike Brigantes of the north must have meant. But not a word about it does Bede write; he only makes a note of a peaceful commencement of the reign of a king whose descendants still held the throne. The only reasonable deduction that can be made from Bede's silence is that such a remarkable change as an Anglo-Saxon conquest of the war-like Britons of Northumbria never took place. His crude attempts to explain the settlement of England, as following such a conquest, only emphasize the completely fictitious nature of the whole story.

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THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is regarded in many quarters as a valuable sequel to the writings of Gildas and Bede, supplying details of the Conquest which are lacking in those older productions. But critical study of the Chronicle has obliged even the most enthusiastic to accept it only with qualifications.

Haverfield says bluntly that the entries in the Chronicle dealing with the Conquest are "mostly fiction."

There is no difficulty in showing that they are all fiction. The compilation of the Chronicle began in the ninth century, probably at the instance of King Alfred. There are several copies in existence, but the original is believed to have been commenced in the monastery of Winchester. It is invariably suggested by those who use the Chronicle as a mine of historical materials that while some of its entries regarding the Conquest are obviously fictitious it also embodies a good deal of, at least, authentic tradition. It is even urged that the original compiler had before him sundry old manuscripts from which he may have obtained his materials.

This suggestion has no weight behind it. Two hundred years earlier, Bede had been in communication with the leading Churchmen of the country, trying to obtain, if it were possible, just such information for his History. The entire absence in that work of details such as are given in the Chronicle is a plain intimation that none were available, and, of course, if the Conquest never happened, as already has been amply demonstrated, no such information could be available. One of Bede's correspondents was a certain Bishop Daniel, principal of the very monastery of Winchester from which the Chronicle subsequently emanated. A search through the archives of the monastery must have been made at the instance of Bishop Daniel for the material wanted by

Bede, and, if it was not forthcoming, then it is most unlikely to have been available for the numerous entries in the Chronicle made two hundred years later. And as it would appear that all the other Churchmen appealed to by Bede were as destitute of matter which could be used for a history of the Conquest as the Bishop of Winchester, the only conclusion possible is that none was in existence, and that the compiler of the Chronicle, trailing on an entirely false scent, set himself out in a way quite usual in those times, to invent the details of an imaginary conquest which had become by then an accepted fact. This conclusion is borne out by several peculiarities of the entries in question. Their chronology. is in a regular sequence of 4 and 8 years, and the dates are given according to the Christian calendar - an obvious anachronism for events in England prior to the adoption of a system of recording which in England is not older than the arrival of Augustine.

There is not a single reverse or loss of a battle by the small bodies of invaders specified in the Chronicle, who invariably defeat much more numerous armies of the Britons. Borrowing from Bede his account of the various "nations" who took part in the occupation of England, the compiler of the Chronicle, instead of making the invasions occur more or less coincidentally, arranges them in sequence, one leader and his forces appearing in a particular quarter, after a predecessor had achieved his objective elsewhere. If the attacks were ever made, they certainly did not occur in such a precise and orderly fashion.

The pedigrees of conquering leaders, traced back through many generations to the mythical heroes and demi-gods of the Nordics are pure efforts of imagination.

The brothers Hengist and Horsa, names taken from Bede, crop up in Nordic legends quite unrelated to Britain. names are only crude eponyms. Thus in the year 501 Port is stated to have arrived in Britain and effected a landing at a place called Portsmouth, the inference being that the town was so-called after this leader. The person who made that entry was apparently unaware that Portsmouth existed centuries previously as the Portus Magnus of the Romans. In two separate entries the Chronicle records that in 534 the West Saxons came into Britain led by. Stuf and Wightgar, and in 534 the Isle of Wight came into their possession. Unfortunately for the notion in the mind of the chronicler that Wightgar gave his name to the island, it was known to the Romans as Vectis long before the arrival of the strangers from overseas.

The gaps in the Chronicle are quite as significant as its entries. There is not a single hint given as to how the great province of Mercia came into possession of the Angles. There is not a word about a conquest of East Anglia or of the important Thames country. A bare entry about Northumbria is borrowed directly from Bede.

The later portions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may be accepted as contributions, not always correct, to English history, but the entries dealing with the Conquest are so inept, and so obviously imaginary that they supply another proof that no such conquest ever happened.

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CHAPTER 16.

NENNIUS AND OTHERS.

It would serve no useful purpose to give any particular attention to such writers as Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Doubtless, they are frequently quoted by those who try to piece together some kind of early Anglo-Saxon history, and have to seek in fable for flesh with which to clothe the ramshackle skeletons of Bede's story and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. There is much uncertainty about Nennius. His very existence has been challenged, and the manuscript bearing this name is dated by differing authorities from the seventh to the tenth century. It contains borrowings from Gildas and Bede but it is principally undiluted fiction.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, author of the "Historia Britonum," a twelfth century production, though professing to have had access to "a very ancient book in the British tongue" compiles with remarkable fertility of invention, chapter after chapter of the wildest romancing. Personages with such names as Brutus, Brennus, and Belinos, taken from Latin literature, play prominent parts in the affairs of pre-Roman Britain. Later, the legendary Arthur fights the Romans and establishes a kingdom which embraces Ireland, Iceland, Norway, Gothland and a great part of Gaul. With quite a modern eye to the picturesque, Geoffrey delights in high-light episodes and vivid imaginary conversations, and his book has been quite a mine of materials for writers of poetry and romance.

Richard of Cirencester, thought at one time to be a British historian whose contributions to early history were exceedingly valuable, must be discounted. His tractate is now known to be a forgery by Copenhagen professor.[76]

The Welsh records are all of too late a date to have any value for the early history of England, and, un-fortunately, the most pretentious of them in that respect are spurious.

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CHAPTER 17.

THE RISING TIDE OF PROTEST.

That the materials with which the account of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest of England has to be constructed are scanty and unreliable, is admitted by all who have attempted the task. Each and all of the historians who envisage this alleged event, necessarily and conveniently take it for granted, and then proceed to fill their pages with endeavours to piece together the wild and splenetic asseverations of Gildas, the unhistoric guesses of Bede, the fictions of the later mediaeval writers, and such features of modern archaeological research as appear to lend support to their prepossessions. The result is a very fragmentary production with many gaps and badly-fitting sections, such as would be the result of attempting to make a design with segments of a jig-saw puzzle which belong to totally different pictures.

Hodgkin, in his volume of the "Political History of England" series, frankly admits the difficulties confronting any one who proposes to put the pieces together according to the orthodox conception. "Owing to the extremely imperfect character of our information concerning the Anglo-Saxon Conquest," he writes, "and the fact that scarcely any of it is contemporary, some of it evidently legendary and fabulous, it is impossible to speak with any confidence of its details. Almost every date may be challenged: 'probably', or 'to the best of our knowledge, are qualifying clauses which should be prefixed to almost every statement." But having made these admissions Hodgkin goes on immediately to mention "the main facts which are beyond the reach of controversy. No one doubts that about the middle of the fifth century, if not before, the Romano-Celtic inhabitants of Britain were invaded by Teutonic tribes from the shores of the German Ocean and the Baltic."

Had this writer given any attention to the other side of the question, he would have discovered that there is quite a formidable number of competent scholars who, in quotations from some of these, and the writer's own contributions to the subject, it will be conceded by unprejudiced readers that sufficient evidence has been adduced to justify the conclusion that the Romano-Britons were not Celtic, and were not exterminated by invaders from overseas. The following are interesting quotations which will still further show that the alleged facts "beyond the reach of controversy" are entirely mythical.

Nicholas, in his "Pedigree of the English People," after commenting on the flourishing and populous condition of England after the Romans left, asks: "What, therefore, compared with this widespread and multitudinous people, for the proper government and taxation of which the Romans had at least above a hundred towns, cities and strongholds, could the invaders, coming over in their small 'cheols', miscalled ships - three ships - five ships at a time, amount to?...The number given by Geoffrey of Monmouth (300,000) as having come over to support Hengist, is perfectly imaginary It is not to be supposed that the Saxon 'ships' were to be compared in capacity to the Roman triremes, and yet Caesar had to build, as he himself declares, 700 transports to convey an army of 30,000 across the channel with baggage and all appurtenances. Supposing that the Saxon keels were actually equal to the Roman in capacity, it would take a fleet of some seven thousand such ships to bring an army so enormous as that mentioned by the imaginative and romantic Geoffrey. The creation of a fleet a tenth of the size is inconceivable under the circumstances.

George P. Marsh, in his study, written with bold, broad outlines, of "The Origin and History of the English Language," thus observes: "The traditional accounts of the Saxon conquest of England speak of numerous successive, and totally distinct bodies of invaders: and the probability that any one tribe, or any one continuous territorial district, even if all its clans were united under one head, could have furnished a sufficient force to subdue the island in any one or ten successive expeditions is too slender to be admitted for a moment."

Kemble, one of the most competent scholars who have written on Anglo-Saxon antiquities, though regarding these as Teutonic in origin, thus gives his deliberate and matured views of the alleged conquest:

"The more I examine the

question, the more completely I am convinced, that the received accounts of the Saxon emigrations, subsequent fortunes and ultimate settlement, are devoid of historical truth in every detail."

In an interesting article in the "New Statesman" of 24th May, 1930, Hilaire Belloc thus pounds to pieces the orthodox notion of an Anglo-Saxon Conquest:

historical theory which I have called absurd in the light of other considerations is this: that what can only have been a small number of people came over from a comparatively short stretch of the German coast, and landing in Britain, murdered every man, woman, child and beast they could lay their hands on, until they got to the Welsh mountains and the hills of the Devon peninsula. Having murdered every man, woman, child and beast, wantonly burned down and pulled to pieces all the towns, country houses and villages, they made new villages and towns of their own, ploughed the land with their imported ploughs and stocked it with their imported cattle."

"I know that this idea has famous names behind it; it was dogma in Oxford when I was there nearly forty years ago. But names without arguments are worth nothing, and submitted to the most elementary common-sense, even apart from the remaining documentary evidence and tradition, the theory is something for which reasoning beings, however moved by racial or religious fanatacism, ought to blush."

"Why," asks Belloc, "should the invaders have killed off all the population seeing that there was much work they could have done for their masters, and how should millions tamely allow themselves and their wives and children to be massacred?" After still further exposing the absurdity of the orthodox view, Belloc asks, disgustedly, "Now, what is a man to make of that?"

"That" has been shown in these pages to belong to the huge pile of literature comprised in the two-fold myth of a Celtic England and an Anglo-Saxon Conquest, the first part of it imposed on English history by ultra-enthusiastic Celtic scholars and the second by other enthusiasts for Teutonic learning, institutions and culture.

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CHAPTER 18.

ING LAND.

In the earliest ascertainable stage of English social life the existence of numerous settlements having a common designation is one of its most striking features. Kemble gives a list of several hundred names of places in England in which the patronymic "ing" appears. Later, Latham pointed out in his book on the English language that the same names are often repeated throughout several counties, thus swelling the number of these settlements to over 1,300.

Several writers have been struck by this peculiarity of early England. Grant Allen says: "the whole eastern half of England is filled with villages bearing the characteristic clan ('ing') name." In "The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon," Thomas Wright remarks that this patronymic "ing" is found "in the names of places in every part of England." The most remarkable feature of this nomenclature is that these "ing" names are not grouped in specific districts, as was the case originally in the Highlands of Scotland where Macgregors occupied particular glens and moorlands, the Macphersons were massed in one compact area, the Maclaines in another, and so on. In England there was a very general intermixture of the place-names, which points to the likelihood that this "ing" was more of a family than a clan or tribal designation. In that case it was older in its significance than the broader designation of an aggregated clan or tribe. There were Aelfingas in Devon, Gloucester, Somerset and Lincoln; Bassingas in Cambridge, Notts, Lincoln and Northumberland; Cunningas in Bedfordshire, Stafford, Northumberland, Devon, Somerset, Norfolk, Yorkshire, Hemingas are found in six different counties, Norningas in seven, Syllingas in six, Wealingas in ten. To these could be added many

other similar instances. The most numerously represented among the "ing" names are the Billings, who, as Grant Allen says,"have left their names over the whole land, from north to south, and from east to west alike."

Yet such lists of "ing" names fall far short of what must have been the actual state of affairs. Fresh discoveries continue to be made. The Ordnance Survey shows 47 recently discovered "ing" names in Kent, 38 in Sussex, and 31 in Essex. And many names, as Kemble admits, must have become obsolete in the course of centuries.

"They are all the result of Anglo-Saxon occupation after the Conquest" is the ready suggestion. There is outstanding disproof of this in at least one notable instance. The Roman historian calls Boadicea queen of the Iceni, a numerous and powerful people occupying what is now East Anglia. This word "Iceni" can be no other than the Roman way of writing "Ikings." So there were "ings" in England even during the Roman period and "ing" place-names are still numerous in East Anglia. It is also worth noting in this connection that there is not a single word of an Anglo-Saxon conquest of this district in any of the records that purport to deal with such events.

The intermixture of these names throughout England has much significance. It indicates that there was a wide and general dispersal of family groups which could only have been possible in a community where a general sense of kinship, a common speech, and other social relationships enabled new homes to be established wherever land was available. It implies also an entire absence of internal hostility or warfare such as cannot be reconciled with the conception of separate tribes invading England for the purpose of acquiring territory and immediately going to war among themselves over their acquisitions. It can be gathered from the old records that pagan and pre-Roman England was a land of national peace and its people a national kindred. Not until Christianity came was England riven by civil war between pagans and Christians.

"Ing" is undoubtedly a prehistoric Nordic word, and is imbedded in the oldest traditions of north-western Europe. The ancient Swedish dynasty was, traditionally, descended from the Sylfingas, the Danish from the Scyldingas. If the "ing" place-names were brought to England by adventurers from the continent in the fifth century they ought to be quite as frequent in the countries from which they were taken as in the one to which they were carried. But though they belonged to royalty in Scandinavia, and perhaps for that very reason, "ing" names while not infrequent on the continent are nothing

like so numerous as in England. The English "ing" names outnumber by a hundred to one those of any continental area of a similar extent.
The antiquity as well as the ubiquity of "ing" place-names in England is beyond question. Their regular occurrence throughout the whole of England, cannot possibly have been the result of localized conquests by separate bodies of adventurers The circumstances all point to the existence in a prehistoric England of an "ing" people.

It might be objected that all writers contemporary with the Roman period in England are silent about this "ing" family name. But they are silent about many other things as well, unfortunately. The Roman occupation was essentially a military one, as has been remarked by several modern historians, and little more than matters which had a military significance were noted. Tacitus, who was in a position to have given us an informative account of the people of England, has told us more about the Caledonians than the southern natives. Yet one observation he makes seems to have some relation to the "ing" settlements. He says the people were accustomed to live in scattered hamlets, and this, he seems to imply, was a peculiar and general feature of the country.

The comparatively early disappearance of the "ing" associations is easily explained. That somewhat similar institution in Scotland, the clan system, lingered on because of the physical configuration of the boundaries, which with frequent feuds prevented intercourse. But in England, as we have seen, there were no particular obstacles to a wide dispersal of family communities. For a time their individuality would be maintained, but sooner or later intermarriage between the nearest neighbours would become frequent, until eventually only the place-names remained to show where particular families had originally settled.

It is undoubtedly from this ubiquitous "ing" characteristic that the name of the people, their speech, and their country is derived. It is not by mere chance that we speak to-day of Ingland, of the Inglish language, of the Inglish people. In thus pronouncing the words we are perpetuating the true and ancient sound. King Alfred, when rendering Bede's Latin into the vernacular, changed his Angli into Engle, which has very nearly the sound of Ingle. Whether fable or fact, the accepted story of Pope Gregory's playful substitution of a Latin term Angli for what probably he heard as Ingli was responsible for the use of a name which was not native to England, during the lengthy period when

the Churchmen wrote English history in Latin. But as soon as the English language was used by native writers as spoken by the mass of the people, the "ing" sound asserted itself. In the 14th century Robert of Brunne wrote a rhyming chronicle in the vernacular, in which he uses the words Inglande, Inglysh and Inglis. Professor Craik claims de Brunne as the earliest writer after the Norman conquest who made it his special task to write as the language was spoken. And some day, when English shall be phonetically written, the descent of the Inglish from a prehistoric ING people will be made plain to its living representatives and the world at large.

CHAPTER 19.

THE ENGLISH TONGUE.

It will have been gathered from the preceding pages that there are no substantial grounds for the common assumption that English speech was introduced into England by Teutonic invaders in the fifth century. This is only one of the many elements of an utterly improbable story. By what remarkable process did three foreign nations or tribes, settling in separate territories of England, agree to call their speech English - a term they had never applied in their original homes either to themselves or their speech? Marsh declares, emphatically, that "The Anglo-Saxon (speech) is not grammatically or lexically identifiable with the extant remains of any continental dialect." Before it was corrupted, firstly by. Latin scholasticism and subsequently by Norman influences, English speech, together with its Lowland Scottish sister, was a very pure form of the original Nordic.

Philologists, working on orthodox lines, and with the inevitable fondness of the experts for classification, have marked off three successive stages in what they regard as the development of the English language - old, middle, and modern. But it is a remarkable fact that the Old English of King Alfred is more identical with the modern speech of to-day than a great deal of the literature of the intermediate period. So-called Anglo-Saxon of the "middle" stage is, for the most part. unintelligible to any but proficient students of it, while, except for a few words which have become obsolete, the English of King. Alfred can be followed by the average person without difficulty. Kemble has made the suggestion, and others have endorsed that King Alfred and his collaborators employed a "colloquial English in their translations from the Latin." Exactly. Even at that early stage scholastics had begun to "improve" the terse simplicity of the old "Ing" speech.

But shrewd King Alfred - - a great English king in all respects - realized that if his books were to be widely read and popular - if they were to help along the cause of education - they must be in the every day speech.

The inflexions which markedly characterize "middle" English are most probably an innovation of those times brought about by Churchmen, steeped in Latin, and desirous of improving the "vulgar tong." The constructed English grammar on the basis -or as nearly as they could get to it -of the Latin accidence, and, from the look of things, added as many inflections from the Latin to English speech as they could possibly contrive.

The Norse or Danish influence which continued from the eighth to the eleventh century has been very much over-estimated by philologists. English was always nearer in structure and vocabulary to Scandinavian than to any of the Germanic dialects, and many words thought to have been introduced by the Northmen are quite as native to England as to Scandinavia. Even in the tenth century the speech of the two countries, as we learn from an episode of the Battle of Stamford Bridge, was practically identical.

During the Norman-French period two changes in the literary language of England proceeded simultaneously. As the power of the Saxon priest-hood declined, their Latinizing of the native speech became correspondingly less obtrusive, and but for the Norman influence creeping in, King Alfred's English, which had always continued to be the speech of the masses, would have gravitated back to its original purity even as a literary medium. English bears to this day the unfortunate effect of a fashionable Norman-French influence.

At a much later stage there was a recrudescence of the Latinist craze, when pompous many-syllabled words were used by such as Dr. Johnson, at whose instance and of the many that imitated him, the literary language became little better than a jargon.

Through all these assaults on the purity of English the great mass of the people continued to use its simple, expressive, unadulterated forms. William Tyndale, in the 16th century, publishing his Bible for the reading of the common people, took care that it should be in the common tongue. King James' Bible was produced on similar lines.

But grandest and most outstanding of all the writers of English at its best, since the days of King Alfred, is the marvellous tinker of Bedford. He indeed has given us a well of English undefiled. Pages of the Pilgrim's Progress are written with words not often of more than two syllables, few of them borrowings from foreign sources;

KING ALFRED

". . a great English King in all respects . ."

(From The Hundred Greatest Men)

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the smoothly running sentences, the simple yet expressive phraseology giving the most telling evidence of what a magnificent language unadulterated old English is, the tongue of the people of England from prehistoric times.

* * * * *

My task of many years is here brought to a close. Struggling through the pretentious obscurantism of the Celticists - unable on their basis to find satisfactory solutions to many problems of British history, it has been my fortune to arrive eventually at conclusions which solve those problems. By some who have written and taught on other lines I shall be assailed, but to those with open minds I submit this thesis, confident that it propounds a rational, if novel, basis for further research into the history of our island am well aware that in some respects this study of British origins may be regarded as insufficiently elaborated. My notes, if fully utilized, would have enlarged this volume into several, with an amount of detail which would have taxed the patience of the average reader. But I feel assured that what I have written establishes the people of England and Lowland Scotland in a heritage of antiquity and continuity which rightly belongs to them.

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